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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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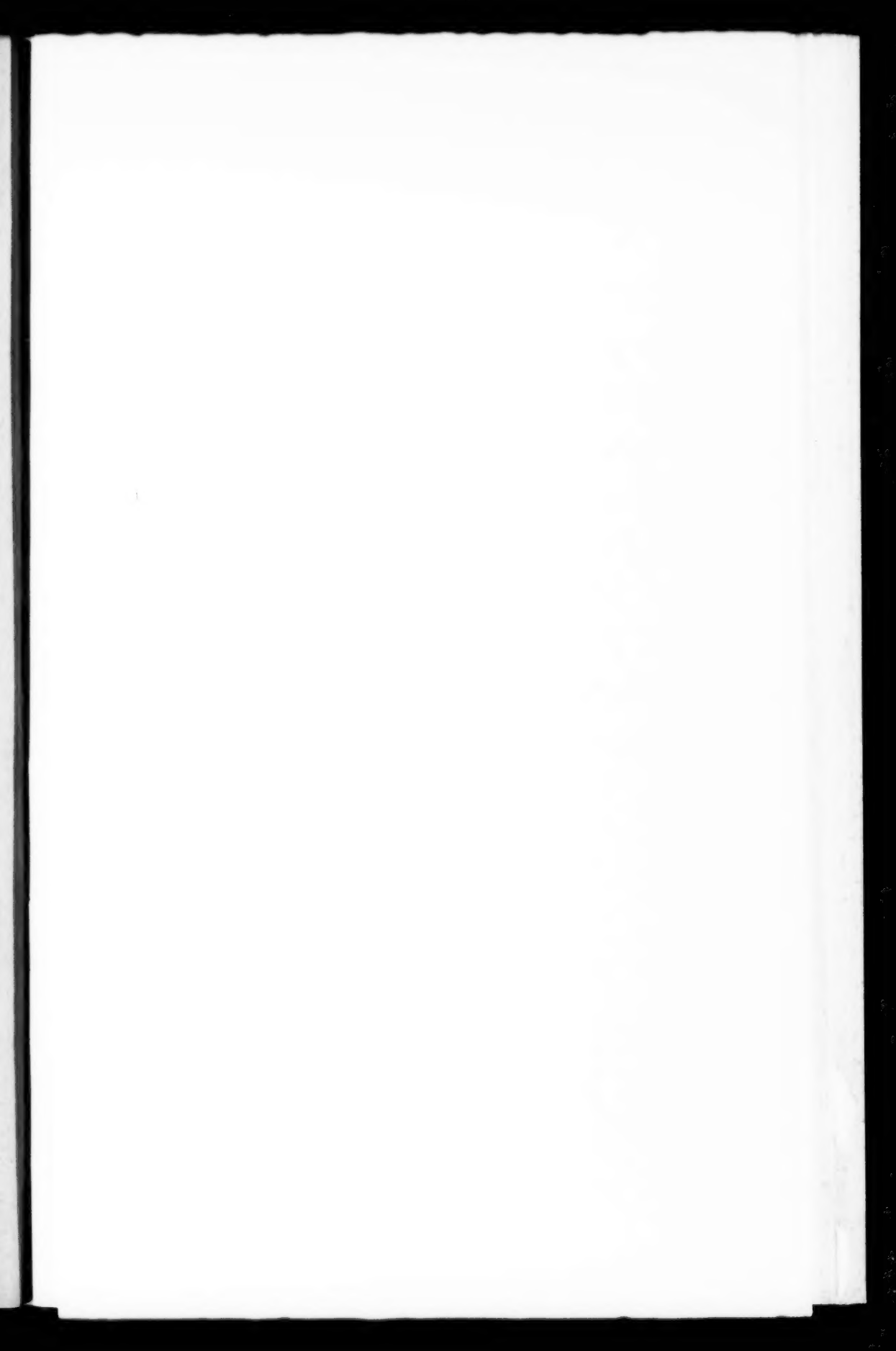
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VOL. XIII

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EDITORIAL NOTES

PROFESSOR JOHN D. HICKS of the University of Wisconsin in the preface to his *The American Nation* states:

"History is so alive and growing that it is hard to see how anyone can think of it as dead and dry. It is, in reality, little more than a study of the present, explained in terms of the past. History looks forward, not backward; it is dynamic, not static. Those who condemn history as a mere rattling of ancient skeletons only betray their unfamiliarity with the subject. Out of the world of yesterday the world of today has grown; out of the world of today will come the world of tomorrow. It is impossible to understand our times without a knowledge of the conditions which brought them about; and it is equally impossible to make intelligent decisions for the future if we have only an uncomprehending view of the age in which we live. At least for a democracy, history is the most practical of subjects. One overstates but little to say that any democracy will function smoothly only in proportion as its history is well-taught and well-understood.

"The field of history has long since been redefined to include social and economic as well as political development. . ."

We consider these words not only as true but as truth which needs to be said in a strong, firm voice. We assume, although Professor Hicks does not say so, that he includes religious history under "social development." We have it on the authority of Professor Frank J. Klingberg of the University of California at Los Angeles, that the American citizen "owes more to his churches in the building of a civilized society than he does to the state." This being so, as we believe it to be, it is imperative that the churches pitch in and tell their own stories, and substantiate at the bar of history their contributions to the

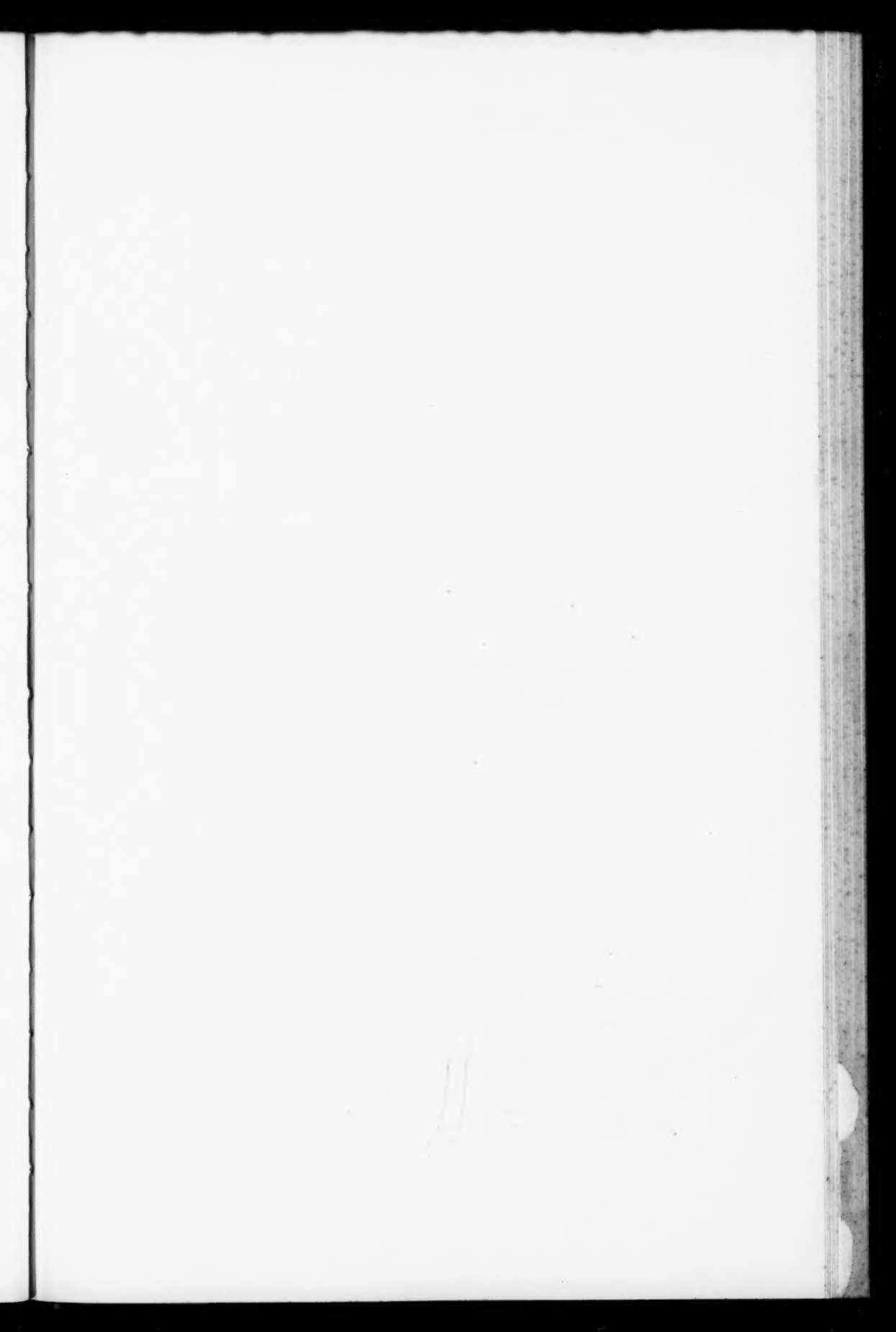
"building of a civilized society." Only thus will a well-rounded understanding of our own times be possible; only thus can "intelligent decisions for the future" be made.

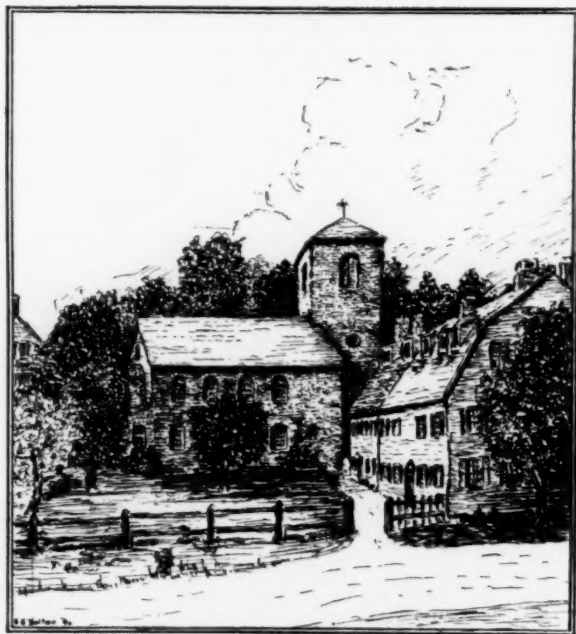
This is one item, and by no means an unimportant one, in the apologia for HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. We are engaged in telling the story of the American Episcopal Church as fairly and as objectively as possible in order that those who synthesize the history of the American people—those who write the text books and general surveys—will give to rising generations a well-rounded portrayal of the nation's "social development." And we hope that other churches, which are not now thus engaged, will do the same.

WALTER H. STOWE.

THE REV. GEORGE WOODWARD LAMB HONORED

The Editors of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are pleased to note that on June 8, 1944, the Philadelphia Divinity School conferred upon the Librarian of the Church Historical Society *honoris causa* the degree of Doctor of Divinity. This is a well merited recognition of Dr. Lamb's outstanding services to the Church Historical Society, especially in the upbuilding of the Society's library. His contribution to this issue will be found on page 128.





**NORTH SIDE OF CHRIST CHURCH FROM CHARTER
STREET: 1724-1740**

*Composite drawing based on Christ Church records and
contemporary maps by Mrs. Charles K. Bolton*

DR. CUTLER ENTERTAINS THE CLERGY

*By Mary Kent Davey Babcock**

ONCE more the treasure chests of Christ Church, Boston, have yielded an interesting document, a caterer's bill for a dinner eaten more than two hundred years ago. Here it is:

The North Society Dr.
To Luke Vardy,

1738

To 31 Bottle Madera.....	£ 9.... 6
To 5 do	1.... 5
To punch	1....15
To Tobacco	5
To Beer & Cyder	10
To Bacon	3.... 2..6
To Beef	1....18
To 14 Chickens a 1/8	1.... 3..4
To Pidgons	1....10
To 9 Ducks	1....10..6
To 2 Apple pyes	1.....
To 13 doz. Costards	15
To 16 Tarts	1.....
To Greens	1....18
To Butter	1....10
To the House	10....
	<hr/>
	£38.... 8..4
To short charge cust ^{ds} & Tarts	12....
	<hr/>
	£39.... 0..4

Boston 27th Octo^r.

What was the occasion for this lavish display of viands, these quarts of wine and beer, these tarts, these apple "pyes"? Who was the host, who the guests? Each time I scanned this scrap of paper I seemed to see a story in it. One day, on quite a different quest, I chanced upon

*Mrs. Babcock is Parish Historian of Christ Church, Boston, and a member of the Library Board of the Diocese of Massachusetts.

an item in the *Boston News-Letter*, that rich thesaurus of the antiquarian. It read as follows:

Boston, May 15, 1729. Deacons of United Churches in this Town intend to provide the Entertainment after the Sermon for the Convention of Ministers as usual.

"United Churches" would not of course include the Church of England, but might not Episcopalians also hold conventions? And if conventions, why not a sermon and a dinner? Might not Christ Church be the host and thus account for the bill? Then followed a series of interesting reading in contemporary documents. To September, 1738, in the *Boston News-Letter* I turn. Nothing. In the *Boston Gazette*, its contemporary, I fare better, for under date of September 25, 1738, this paragraph appears:

On Wednesday last, being the Anniversary Convention of the Episcopal Ministers of the Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire Government, was preached by the Rev. Mr. Arthur Brown of Portsmouth, a most excellent Sermon from the 3d. Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians and 8th. verse; which gave a general Satisfaction to a numerous Auditory.

Next a visit to the Boston Athenaeum, where the Christ Church record books are kept. There I find the missing link in the vestry record for September 5, 1738:

Whereas the Rever^d Gentlemen of the Clergy are to Meet at Boston in Convention to be held at Christ Church on Wednesday the 20th. Instant it is

Voted that a Handsome Dinner be provided for the s^d Rever^d Gentⁿ of the Clergy and that the Wardens of each Church and the Treasurer of the Charitable Society be invited and the Church Wardens do acquaint the Rev M^r Commissary Price therewith.

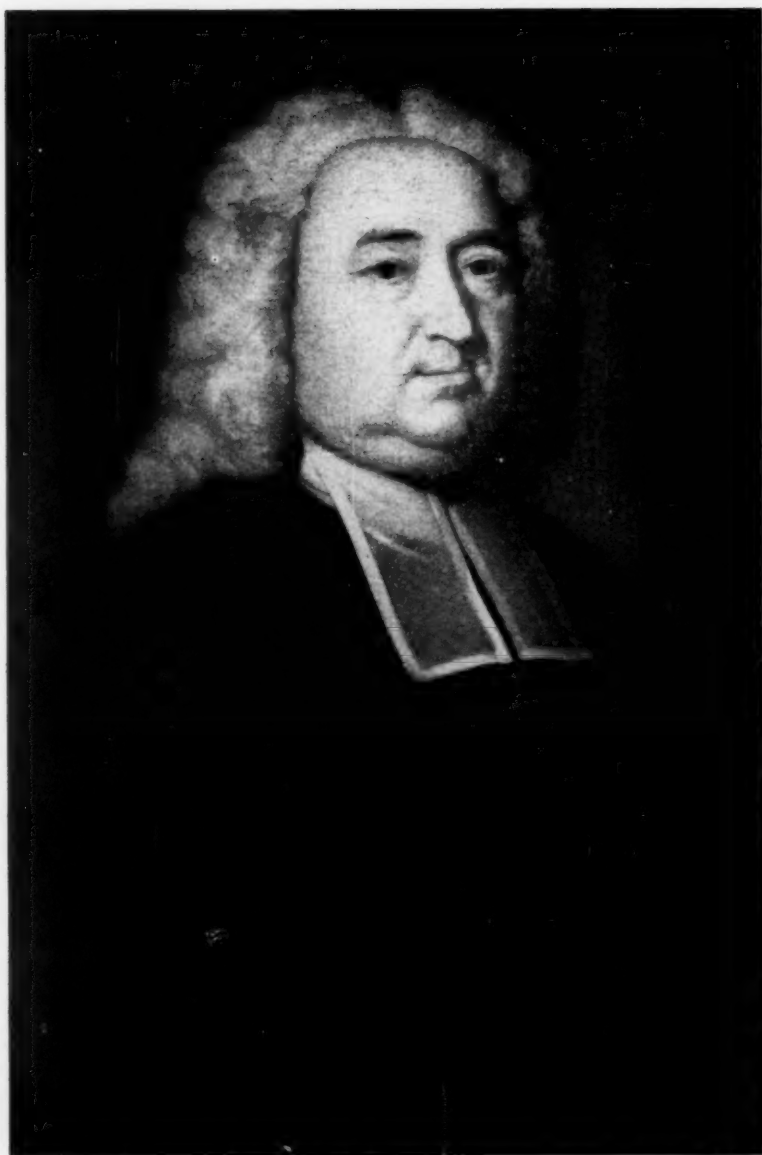
After naming a committee, the vote is supplemented by the following:

The Rev^d D^r Cutler having made his application to the Church Wardens & Vestry for Assistance towards defraying the Expences He will be at upon this Extraordinary Occasion of Entertaining at his house the Rev^d Gentⁿ of the Clergy,

It is now

VOTED That the Church Wardens do pay the Sum of Ten Pounds to the Rev^d D^r Cutler for y^e Use above mentioned.





THE REVEREND ARTHUR BROWNE, A.M.

1699-June 10, 1773

Trinity College, Dublin, 1729; ordained deacon and priest, 1729, by the Bishop
of London; S. P. G. Missionary, Providence, Rhode Island: 1730-1736;
Queen's Chapel (St. John's), Portsmouth, New Hampshire,
1736-1773

*From the portrait of John Singleton Copley, owned by the General Theological Library, Boston.
Courtesy of Carl J. Wennerblad, State Supervisor, Historical Records Survey.*

With time, place and circumstance complete we may now arrange our *dramatis personae*. An easy task today with our voluminous convention journals, but for pre-Revolutionary churches, few of which have printed histories, it means either visiting these old churches and asking to see the records or writing to the parish historians for data. I have done both.

In 1738 New England comprised Massachusetts (which included Maine), New Hampshire, at that time under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. There was yet no Vermont. The Massachusetts churches numbered nine. In Boston, there were three. I name them in order of age. King's Chapel, the Rev. Roger Price, rector and commissary for New England, the Rev. Addington Davenport, assistant rector; Christ Church, the Rev. Timothy Cutler, D. D., rector; Trinity Church,—there was no rector until 1740, the church being served by the commissary and other clergymen. Elsewhere in Massachusetts the churches were—a mission at Dedham, of which the Rev. Timothy Cutler was rector, now St. Paul's; a mission at Salem, St. Peter's, served by the Rev. George Pigot, rector of St. Michael's, Marblehead; the Queen's Chapel at Newbury, now St. Paul's, Newburyport, the Rev. Matthias Plant, rector; Christ Church at Braintree, now Quincy, the Rev. Ebenezer Miller, rector; St. Andrew's, Scituate, now Hanover, the Rev. Charles Brockwell, rector.

There were four Rhode Island churches in 1738. Trinity Church, Newport, the Rev. James Honeyman, rector; Narragansett, the Rev. James McSparran, rector; King's Church, Providence, now St. John's, George Taylor,¹ a schoolmaster, officiated between the departure of the Rev. Arthur Browne and the arrival of the Rev. John Checkley,² at a salary of ten pounds per year from the S. P. G.; St. Michael's Church, Bristol, the Rev. John Usher, rector. The only New Hampshire church was Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, now St. John's, the Rev. Arthur Browne, A. M., rector.

Connecticut, by 1738, had seven organized churches. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, D. D., who had accompanied Timothy Cutler to England for ordination at the expense of the Christ Church parish, had opened the church at Stratford on Christmas Day 1724, the year after their arrival from England and had laid the foundations of the following churches in the succeeding fifteen years: Fairfield, New London, Newtown, Redding, Hebron and Norwalk. The rectors of these churches and their wardens were included in those invited to participate in the

¹C. R. Batchelder, *History of the Eastern Diocese*, Vol. II, p. 275.

²Rev. Edmund T. Slafter, D. D., *John Checkley*, 2 vols., Boston, 1897.

1738 convention. The rectors were, at Fairfield, the Rev. Henry Caner;³ at New London, the Rev. Samuel Seabury;⁴ at Newtown and Redding, the Rev. John Beach; at Hebron, the Rev. John Bliss; the Norwalk parish was organized in 1737 but no rector was chosen.⁵

The Boston Episcopal Charitable Society,⁶ whose treasurer in 1738 was Francis Brinley, Esq., one of the laymen invited to the convention, was founded April 6, 1724, and has continued its useful service for over two hundred years to those designated in its preamble of that date. Its first treasurer was John Jekyll, Esq., collector of his majesty's customs for the port of Boston.

In one of the inimitable historical papers delivered during his rectorate in Christ Church, Dr. Dewart⁷ referred to this convention enlarging upon its delegates covering all New England, and then, pointing to the pew reserved for the gentlemen⁸ of the Bay of Honduras, those generous donators of logwood for Christ Church, he whimsically added: "and they all could have sat in that pew."

However we may assume that by states they may have been scattered over the body of the church and with the wardens and other laymen sufficed to make up the "numerous auditory" of the *Gazette* report. We know that in the clerk's desk sat Francis Beteilhe⁹ and that the wardens, Edward Lutwyche and Hugh McDaniel, seated in the wardens' pews on each side of the "Great Door" and not as now in the body of the church, were part of the congregation.

³Rev. Henry Caner, D. D., rector of King's Chapel, Boston, 1747-76.

⁴Father of Bishop Samuel Seabury.

⁵Johnson at Stratford; Caner at Fairfield; the elder Seabury at New London; Beach at Newton and Redding.

Four missionaries with five houses of worship constituted the working clerical force of the Church in Connecticut down to the end of 1734. *Vide*, E. E. Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I.

⁶The Boston Episcopal Charitable Society is the second oldest in New England. The beneficiaries are mostly persons who have seen better days and who cannot be helped by ordinary charitable organizations. Its work is quiet and unostentatious.

⁷The Rev. William H. Dewart, L. H. D., rector of Christ Church, 1914-1926; rector emeritus, 1927-1941.

⁸The Bay Pew: June 9, 1727, it was voted by the vestry: "That a Pew be expeditiously built next to the Pulpit and lin'd handsomely For the use of the Gentlemen of y^e Bay of Honduras who have been or Shall be Benefactors to this Church." They were mostly sea captains who had promised to bring cargoes of logwood, a basis for black dye, from Central America to be sold for the benefit of Christ Church which was raising money to build a spire.

⁹Francis Beteilhe (pronounced "Betterly") was the first duly elected clerk of Christ Church serving from 1733 until his death in 1739 (cir.). "It appears that Francis Beteilhe was a mason of First Lodge [St. John's] as early as July 1734; that he was its secretary as well as that of Masters Lodge and that he is responsible for some of the finest and earliest records of masonry in this country." *Letter from Herbert P. Hollnagel*.



THE
EXCELLENCY
OF THE
Christian Religion ;
Exhibited in a SERMON,
BEFORE THE
Episcopal CLERGY
OF
NEW-ENGLAND,
Convened at BOSTON :
And Preached at CHRIST Church,
Sept. 20. 1738.

By ARTHUR BROWNE,
RECTOR of *Portsmouth* in *New-Hampshire*, and
Missionary to the SOCIETY for the Propa-
gation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Published at the Request of sundry of the Audience.

BOSTON, N. E.
Printed by S. KNEELAND and T. GREEN, for
N. GREEN. MDCCXXXVIII.

All eyes must have been bent upon the Rev. Arthur Browne¹⁰ who was to preach the convention sermon. He does not seem to us today such a shadowy personage, for Longfellow has put him into one of his "Tales of the Wayside Inn" where, in the governor's mansion, he made the little waiting maid Martha, Lady Wentworth of the Hall. Readers of contemporary fiction¹¹ will not recognize in the stern father uttering his diatribes on artists, the man who set forth in this convention sermon "The End for which God created us, was undoubtedly to make us Happy".

"The Excellency of the Christian Religion" (Philippians III:8) was his subject and in the course of the sermon we find a note which was creeping into public discourse. Such phrases as "The End for which God created Man was to make him happy—A State of Happiness, therefore, there must have been appointed for him, in the Decree and Fore-knowledge of God"—foreshadow a similar phrase in a document much in our minds today,—“the pursuit of happiness” to which all men are entitled, and portray the character of the preacher. Another sermon preached by Arthur Browne many years later at Trinity Church in Boston on "Universal Love" from the text "He that loveth his brother abideth in the light", enlarges on this concept of the Christian religion, far ahead of the time in its thought.

From Dr. Cutler's house, only a stone's throw away, what delightful odors must have floated into the church to whet the appetites and keep heads unconsciously turned to gaze at the passing hour as Richard Avery's clock¹² ticked off the minutes.

Before the days of parish houses with kitchens equipped to cater

¹⁰Rev. Arthur Browne, A. M. Born 1699 in Ireland; Trinity College, Dublin, 1729; ordained 1729. S. P. G. missionary, Providence, Rhode Island, 1730-36. Queen's Chapel [St. John's], Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1736-1771. Died June 20, 1771.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. IX, p. 298.

See also, Edgar L. Pennington, *The Church of England in Early Colonial New Hampshire and the Rev. Arthur Browne*, Hartford, 1937.

¹¹"As secretary to the Dean, I made the acquaintance of all sorts of folk: actors, even: authors: artists. Almost the worst of the lot were the artists: a rude and clownish crew, unsavory and irreligious! They had no standing whatever! Painters, actors, mountebanks—they were all in the same boat: a wicked and adulterous generation! Even the family solicitor was preferable to an artist. I've seen artists left kicking their heels for hours in gentlemen's ante-chambers. They were poor men, too. All their lives they lived miserably, in dire poverty. . . . For the most part they were drunkards. . . . I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness. And for every Lely and Kneller, there were thousands of unsuccessful paint-daubers who thought they were artists. They rolled in gutters: starved and froze in garrets: died their bellies with the husks that the swine did eat."

Quoted by Kenneth Roberts in "Northwest Passage".

¹²Richard Avery's clock has been in Christ Church since 1726 and is still a good time piece.

to anything from a vestry meeting to a parish supper, it was customary in the 18th century for the vestries of the three Episcopal churches in Boston to meet at some one of the famous taverns for which Boston was noted. Here over a good dinner or purely liquid refreshment, rector, wardens and vestrymen could think out their problems in the leisurely manner then in vogue. Trinity Church, Boston, was organized at the famous Bunch of Grapes Tavern.

On King Street (now State Street) which led to the market and docks, there stood for many years the Royal Exchange Tavern, rendezvous of gay youths, merchants and sea captains, and characterized by Sewall as a place of "debaucheries". Close by the Town House and opposite the Royal Custom House, its appearance as late as 1770 has been preserved for us in Paul Revere's etching of the Boston Massacre which occurred in front of it. In 1738 it was presided over by "honest Luke [Vardy], that cook from London" and was a favorite resort of the Freemasons, for Luke it was

"who oft dispelled their sadness
And filled the breth'rens' hearts with gladness".

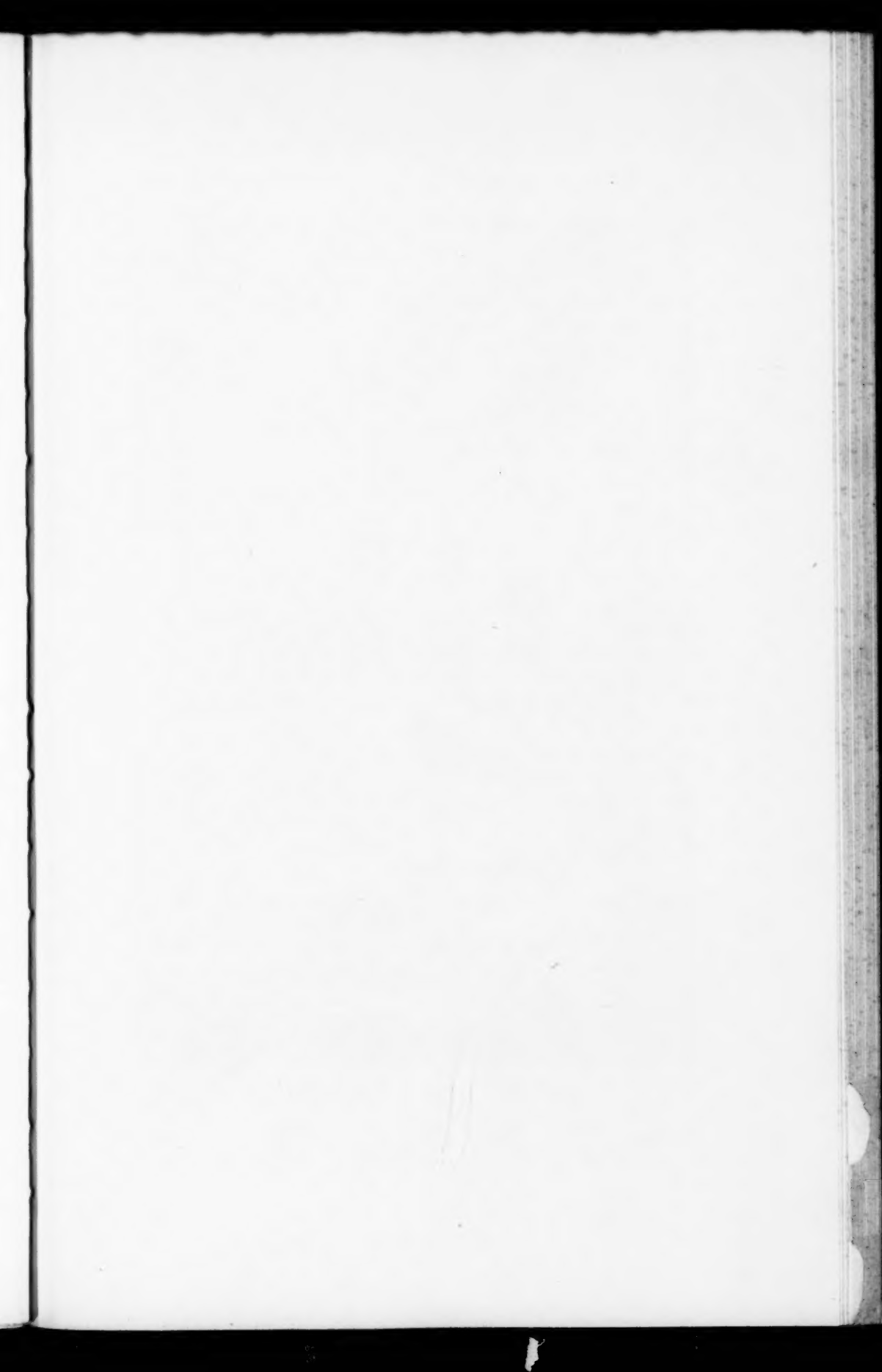
The Royal Exchange might be called the Copley-Plaza of its day and its prices were often the subject of controversy. An Easter Monday dinner arranged for by the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society in 1731 was held at the Orange Tree Inn when one of the members objected to Vardy's exorbitant charges.¹⁸

Luke Vardy, the London publican, had some difficulty when he arrived in Boston in 1716 in being allowed to sell "Strong Drink as an Innholder at y^e Exchange Tavern" but he finally got permission from the authorities.

He was a good churchman owning a pew at King's Chapel and married there to Jane Carson in 1744 by the Rev. Mr. Commissary Price. He was a liberal contributor to improvements at King's Chapel and the Royal Exchange was the frequent rendezvous for vestry meetings of the Episcopal churches. Sometimes the united vestries of King's

¹⁸Rev. Isaac Boyle, D. D., *An Historical Memoir of the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society*. 1840. The Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, then bishop of Massachusetts, said in an address made in 1924 on the 200th anniversary of the founding of the society:

"On Easter Monday, 1731, began, true to the habit of Englishmen accustomed to the dinners of charitable and other guilds in London, the series of annual dinners, which was broken only in the year of the Great Fire and during the War of the Revolution. Their first dinner, which was doubtless attended by the members in the full dress of periwigs, blue coats, brass buttons, white stockings and buckled shoes, was held in the 'Orange Tree Inn near the head of Hanover Street.'"





AN ATTEMPT TO LAND A BISHOP IN AMERICA

From a colonial print

Chapel and Christ Church met at the Royal Exchange. At one of these meetings on August 20, 1734, the Rev. Arthur Browne, the preacher at the 1738 convention, was present. Trinity Church vestry met there in April 1739 to discuss the calling of the Rev. Addington Davenport.

The prices at the Royal Exchange continually rose owing to its popularity and it may be noted that two years after this convention when Christ Church spire was erected Vardy did not provide the sumptuous "raising dinner".

Vardy was also a Mason in good standing and the subject of many a satire by Joseph Green, a brother Mason.

"Honest Luke much broken with wine and age" died September 13, 1753, age 67 years. The record in the King's Chapel register reads "Luke Vardy, formerly innholder". His wife did not long survive him as the record shows she was buried on September 26th of the same year.

An eminent church historian has called the convention of 1738 the first convention of New England clergy, a statement later amended as there had been sporadic conventions for at least a quarter of a century,—one especially in 1726 at which Mr. Honeyman of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, was the preacher at King's Chapel, Boston.

The burning question at many of these meetings was the need of a bishop for the colonies.¹⁴ The long sojourn in England for the ordination of Dr. Cutler and Dr. Johnson was financed by those desirous of establishing a second Episcopal church in Boston; but many candidates could not find financial backing for the long and dangerous voyage to England. Petitions for a bishop to the S. P. G., the bishop of London, and even to the king, never got any farther than sympathetic consideration; and the fear of establishing what the colonists most desired to avoid, the temporal power of the Church, kept a goodly proportion of the population firmly against it.

An amusing cartoon, entitled "An Attempt to Land a Bishop in America," has come down to us which portrays the general attitude and doubtless did much to encourage the opponents. It is thus described by Bishop William Stevens Perry:¹⁵

"The scene depicted in this print is on a wharf. A crowd of excited colonists, with open mouths and violent gesticulations, are brandishing staves and clubs. One, in Quaker garb,

¹⁴By 1763 the controversy had become so heated that various Episcopal clergymen were printing replies to the caustic pamphlets of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, among them the rector of King's Chapel and the Rev. Arthur Browne.

¹⁵*History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. I, p. 413.

stands with an open copy of Barclay's "Apology" in his hand. Others, with cropped hair and Puritan faces, are shouting, "No Lords, spiritual or temporal, in New England;" and are hurling copies of "Sydney on Government," "Calvin's Works," and "Locke", at a retreating figure who is climbing the shrouds of the "Hillsborough" ship, which is being thrust off from shore. The Episcopal carriage is dismounted and packed on deck; the crosier and mitre are placed by its side, and the affrighted prelate, whose rochet and chimere are streaming behind him as he mounts the ropes in haste, is crying, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." The legend in front is, "Shall they be obliged to maintain bishops, who cannot maintain themselves?", while a grinning ape, in the foreground, poises a missile to hurl at the bishop. All this bravery of a mob in pursuit of a single, unarmed, unresisting man is under the banner of "Liberty and Freedom of Conscience."

However the bishop of London, who had a very limited jurisdiction over the North American missions rapidly increasing after the defection of the Yale College lights, sent out commissaries who acted for him in settling grievances and giving advice. For New England the Rev. Roger Price was the first and only bishop's commissary. He arrived in 1729, and was inducted as rector of King's Chapel, Boston. After the building of Trinity Church, which at first was merely a chapel of ease, he supplied that pulpit also, until his assistant, the Rev. Addington Davenport, became rector of Trinity Church in 1740.

The conventions called after his arrival in Boston were always with his consent and approval. The story of his life is tied up with all three Episcopal churches in Boston and with a rural mission and might well be told here.

Fond of the country life of the English parson, he acquired an estate in Hopkinton where he established a country church which became an absorbing interest in his life. So much so that the wardens and vestry of King's Chapel made it rather uncomfortable for his peace of mind. He resigned his rectorship and set sail for England. The ship was becalmed in the lower harbor and when Sunday came he went ashore and, avoiding King's Chapel, went to Trinity Church to worship. There he saw the beautiful Elizabeth Bull and found he didn't want to go back to England, and in the parish register of Christ Church you may read under date of April 14, 1735, the marriage of M^{rs} [Mistress] Elizabeth Bull to the Rev. Roger Price by Dr. Cutler. So back to King's Chapel he went and submitted to the wardens and vestry his ac-

ceptance of their legitimate demands. To hear the story properly, you should have been in Christ Church some years ago when Dr. Dewart told it, so that you could almost see the blushing Elizabeth and the gallant Roger threading their way through the green lane that Salem Street used to be and down the broad aisle of the church to the waiting Dr. Timothy Cutler.

But to get back to conventions, perhaps Dr. Foote was not so far out of the way in calling the 1738 convention the first, for it is the first in our knowledge of many details—the delegates, the preacher and what he said, the sumptuous feast provided by the jovial Luke Vardy with his itemized bill for it all, after the spiritual food dished out to the “numerous auditory” by the eminent preacher of the day, and a newspaper notice. No other pre-revolutionary convention provides all this illumination on its proceedings. And now we have added to all this a delightful sketch (*See* frontispiece) from the facile pen of Mrs. Bolton of Christ Church as it must have looked on that September day in 1738, for it was not until two years later that one of William Price’s¹⁶ “sundry draughts for y^e new spire” got off his draughting board and on to the waiting steeple.

The story still lacks the subjects under discussion at the convention and a view of Dr. Cutler’s house. The voices have long since been stilled and the house torn down, more’s the pity.

In the Gavet manuscripts, recently acquired by the diocesan library, I came across this interesting description of the 1766 convention, jotted down by the rector of St. Peter’s Church, Salem, Massachusetts, the Rev. Mr. McGilchrist. It reads as follows:

1766—Early part of June

“We met 14 in number and made something of an appearance for the County when we walked together in our Gowns & Cassocks. D^r Caner acquainted us that our Convention was approved by the Bishop of London, was chosen the Moderator and Secretary and gave us an excellent discourse in King’s Chapel and we were honored by the Governor’s Company at Dinner. As this Convention will make us acquainted together so I hope its like to be of service to the church.”¹⁷

¹⁶William Price, book and print seller at “*The King’s Head and Looking Glass*”, first church organist in New England, designer of the 1740 spire of Christ Church, map maker, founder of the Price Lectures, pew owner and at various times church officer in all three Episcopal churches in Boston. Born England 1684. Died Boston 1771.

¹⁷William F. Gavet *Papers*, Book 14, Massachusetts Diocesan Library.

The date (1766) of this convention is worthy of note, one year after the repeal of the Stamp Act when free men were beginning to assert their rights, and one year also after Dr. Cutler's death. What he labored for, conventions at stated intervals and a bishop for the colonies, was not far off though bloody years were to intervene.

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GEORGE KEITH¹

*By James Arthur Muller**

I look upon it that the sending Mr. Keith in quality of a missionary, to travel for the good of the churches, has been the best service that has been done yet for the Church of England in these parts of the world; for he is a general scholar, an able disputant, and a perfectly honest man. . . . He is the fittest man that ever came over for this province; he is a well study'd divine, a good philosopher and preacher, but above all an excellent disputant, especially against the Quakers, who used to challenge all mankind formerly. Now all the 'Friends' (or Enemies rather) are not able to answer one George Keith; he knows the depth of Satan within them and all the doublings and windings of the *Snake in the Grass*.² In short he has become the best champion against all dissenters that the Church ever had, and he's set up such a light in these dark places that by God's blessing will not be put out. . . .

"He has done more for the Church than any, yea than all that have been before him. Besides his ordinary, or rather extraordinary travels, his preaching excellent sermons upon all occasions, his disputes with all sorts of heathens and heretics (who superabound in these parts—Africa has not more monsters than America), he has written or printed ten or a dozen books and sermons, much at his own charge, and distributed them freely; which are all excellent in their kind and have done good service all along shore."³

Thus did the Reverend John Talbot, the "Apostle of New Jersey," assess the qualities and labors of his friend George Keith, during the latter's travels from New Hampshire to North Carolina in 1702-1704, as representative of the recently founded S. P. G.

Nor was Talbot's the only voice raised in appreciation of Keith's

¹*George Keith, 1638-1716*. By Ethyn Williams Kirby. Appleton-Century Company, New York, for the American Historical Association, 1942. 177 pages. \$3.00.

*Associate Editor.

²An epithet for the Quakers, used by the Rev. Charles Leslie as the title of an anti-Quaker pamphlet, published in 1696.

³Talbot's Letters, in *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, 1851, pp. xxxii, xxxiv, xli. Also in E. L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*. See below, Note 9.

work. Lord Cornbury, governor of New York, said that Keith had "omitted no opportunity nor spared no pains where he could advance the interest of the Church of Christ." And the minister and vestry of Christ Church, Philadelphia, wrote in 1704 to thank the S. P. G. for sending Keith, "whose unparalleled zeal and assiduity, whose eminent piety, whose indefatigable diligence (beyond what could be expected from a person of his declining years [Keith was sixty-six in 1704]), whose frequent preaching and learned conferences, whose strenuous and elaborate writing made him highly and signally instrumental in promoting the Church and advancing the number of Christians not only here but in the neighboring provinces."⁴

This doughty champion of Anglicanism did not become an Anglican until he was sixty-two years old. Born and reared in Scottish Presbyterianism, he adopted Quaker views as a young man, becoming one of the foremost literary apologists for Quakerism, author of some thirty books and tracts in its defence, and a friend and co-worker of George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay. Nurtured in dogmatic Calvinism, he became gradually and, as the years passed, increasingly alarmed at Quaker indifference to dogma and dependence on the inner light to the neglect, as he believed, of the scriptural, historic, and dogmatic basis of Christianity. He attempted a reform of Quakerism which resulted in his exclusion from the Quaker fellowship and the creation in 1692 of a new group known as "Christian Quakers," many of whom later became Anglicans.

It is surprising that a figure of such importance in both Quaker and Anglican history should have waited for over two centuries for a full length biography. This has been given us by Ethyn Williams Kirby. Upon this admirably written and carefully documented volume much of this article is based.

George Keith was born in 1638⁵ in Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, Scotland. He spent four years at Marischall College, Aberdeen, receiving his M. A. in 1658. Gilbert Burnet, destined to fame as bishop and historian, received his M. A. the year before. Like Keith he had been reared in Calvinism and was dissatisfied with it. After graduation both passed through a period of spiritual unrest. They were brought together again in 1661-62 in Edinburgh, where Keith was employed as tutor in a nobleman's family, and Burnet, deciding to study mathematics, came to Keith, who appears to have been something of a mathematical genius, for instruction. Burnet introduced Keith to the philosophy of Descartes and the writings of the Cambridge

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Platonists, especially those of Henry More. These led Burnet into Anglicanism but Keith into the fellowship of the Quakers. When Henry More later heard that it was his *Mystery of Godliness* which brought Keith to Quakerism, he observed that Keith "did not drink deep enough of what was there offered him"; for More, though sanctioning the doctrine of the light within as scriptural, contended that it was inadequate of itself and must be supplemented by biblical study and the sacraments. To this view Keith came many years later.

The period of the Restoration was an uncomfortable time for Quakers, as indeed it was for all dissenting bodies. No sooner had Keith become a member of the Aberdeen Meeting in 1663 than he was expelled from the town. The next year he spent ten months in jail; in 1669 nine months; in 1676-77 fifteen. Then came three short imprisonments in 1678-80, and finally, one of a year and a half in 1683-84.

He was not to be daunted by imprisonment any more than was George Fox. Immediately on his release he would be on his way visiting groups of Quakers in Scotland and England, encouraging, preaching, organizing. In 1677 he went on a missionary expedition to Holland and Germany with Fox, Penn, and Barclay.

Nor were his imprisonments periods of idleness. During the first of them he wrote *Immediate Revelation . . . not Ceased*, "the earliest systematic exposition" of Quaker faith; during the second, *The Way to the City of God Described*; during the third, *The Way Cast Up*. These and numerous other publications brought him recognition as one of the two or three preeminent expounders of Quakerism.

By profession he was a surveyor and he appears to have practiced this profession from time to time at Aberdeen, where, after his marriage in 1672, he is said to have settled on his wife's property. But how he found time, what with his journeys, his preaching, his writing, and his sojourns in jail, to settle anywhere or to do any surveying is something of a mystery. For a short period (in 1681-82) he was master of a school in England.

After he had given over a score of years to the service of Quakerism in Britain, he was, in 1684, appointed surveyor-general of the Quaker colony of East Jersey. Early in the next year he arrived in Perth Amboy, capital of the colony, with his wife and his two daughters. As surveyor-general he ran the boundary between East and West Jersey and between East Jersey and New York. He was also engaged in fixing the boundaries of private estates. He founded the town of Freehold on land granted to him, peopling it with settlers from Scotland.

But all this did not prevent his acting as an itinerant preacher. He was deeply concerned over the lack of religious training of the

younger generation of Quakers in the colonies, as well as by the attitude taken by many of their elders that religious instruction was not necessary—the inner light was all sufficient. He lamented the increasing number of “airy notionists, who teach and profess faith in the Christ within as the Light and Word; but either deny or slight his outward coming, and what he did and suffered for us in the flesh.”

Hence we find him busily engaged in visiting the Friends Meetings throughout the Jerseys and Pennsylvania and, on occasion, those in New England, in an endeavor to convince them of the need of biblical study and doctrinal soundness. He also continued writing, notably, *The Fundamental Truths of Christianity* and *A Plain Short Catechism for Children and Youth*, books in which his departure from the prevailing Quaker conviction of the all sufficiency of the light within became apparent. There are many things in Scripture, he declared, of great weight respecting the way of eternal salvation, which are not inwardly revealed to all men. He also suggested that there might be some spiritual benefit in such outward acts as the partaking of the Eucharist.

At the Yearly Meeting of 1690, held in Burlington, he proposed a scheme for church government and discipline which evidenced a further disparity between his position and that of his Quaker contemporaries. He would have a confession of faith to be made by all members of the Meeting, he would prohibit persons of “raw and unseasoned” beliefs from speaking in Meeting, and he would have elders and deacons elected by the congregation. The Meeting rejected these proposals as “downright popery.”

Meanwhile, in 1689, Keith had become master of the new Quaker school in Philadelphia (now known as the William Penn Charter School), a position he resigned the next year, with the intention, it seems, of returning to England.

His return, however, was delayed by the circumstance that in the Yearly Meeting of 1691, held in Philadelphia, William Stockdale, an old and respected Quaker preacher, charged Keith with heresy. He accused him of preaching two Christs. Keith retorted by calling Stockdale “an ignorant heathen,” and demanded that the Meeting decide whether it was he or Stockdale who was guilty of heresy. The Meeting was quite unable to decide, for it had no standard of orthodoxy; each individual was expected to rely on the testimony of the light within as to his own orthodoxy. A few months later at the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, in January, 1692, another leading Quaker accused Keith of “denying the sufficiency of the light within.”

This was indeed an ironical situation, in which Keith, who had

bent every effort to induce the Quakers to adopt orthodox standards of doctrine, should be accused of heresy. When a meeting of Quaker preachers in June censured both Stockdale and Keith, saying that Stockdale was "reprovable and blameworthy" for uttering charges against Keith, and that Keith's "manner of proceeding" against Stockdale was not "pursuant to Gospel order," Keith was furious, and proceeded to publish his version of the dispute in *A Plea for the Innocent*, and to go about to neighboring Meetings to state his case and denounce his opponents in no measured terms.

Finally the Yearly Meeting of 1692 formally disowned Keith, whereupon a fourth of its membership withdrew and Keith found himself at the head of a minority Quaker movement, the "Christian Quakers," who organized some fifteen Meetings in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, adopted an orthodox confession of faith, permitted only the mature to speak in meeting, and elected elders and deacons to manage their affairs. Incidentally, and to their everlasting honor, they went on record in October, 1693, in condemnation of negro slavery, a century before the main body of Quakers disavowed it.

It had not been Keith's intention to cause a schism. He had set out to reform Quakerism, to stem what he regarded as a growing tendency within it to cut loose from fundamental Christian truth. And he did not give up the hope that the English Quakers would support him. Hence, late in 1693, he returned to London. Penn, then in England, at first appears to have favored Keith, although he made light of the controversy as of little consequence and urged Keith to drop his separate Meeting. The situation, however, was aggravated by the arrival of a shipment of Keith's Pennsylvania publications giving his account of the schism, and of what he regarded as the heretical, if not pagan, doctrines held by many Quakers. These were eagerly bought up by opponents of Quakerism, especially by the clergy, who pointed out that the inevitable conclusion to be derived from them was that if you were a Quaker you could not be a Christian. Moreover, two prominent Pennsylvania opponents of Keith came to England to present their side of the case.

The London Yearly Meeting of 1694, while not disowning Keith, solemnly enjoined him to retract his published attacks on the Quakers (which he refused to do) and to behave himself with more moderation. The result was another year of pamphlet warfare and the formal disowning of Keith by the Yearly Meeting of 1695.

Keith at once rented Turner's Hall in Philpot Lane, London, and opened a Meeting for "Reformed" or "Christian" Quakers and gained

a large body of adherents. The ribald referred to them in unimpeachable Cockney as "turners all."

To this group Keith ministered for the next five years, frequently interrupting his ministrations by journeys to other parts of England to win Quakers from their errors. He was, moreover, indefatigable in the production of tracts exposing Quaker heresies; the most effective of these being *The Deism of William Penn* and *The Standard of the Quakers Examined*.

His application to mathematical studies was stimulated by contact with other mathematicians in London, as well as by the need of supplementing his income by tutoring. There is a pleasant and revealing incident connected with these studies at this time: He devised, as he thought, certain new problems in geometry and, in 1697, published them. He sent a copy of the publication to the librarian of University College, Oxford, asking him to show it to David Gregory, a noted mathematician there. Shortly after sending it he became convinced that his new geometric methods were false. He wrote at once to the librarian begging him neither to show the book to Gregory nor to place it in the library. "I would rather be out of the world," he said, "than impose any untruth on the world knowingly either in spiritual or natural things."

During the Turner's Hall period Keith found himself increasingly drawn to the Church of England. Its orthodox creeds, its ordered life, its scholarship he found congenial. It had been the Anglican Henry More who had evoked his youthful enthusiasm. Now he saw the Church experiencing a renewal typified by the founding of the S. P. C. K. in 1699 and the S. P. G. in 1701. Moreover, the Church was engaged in a war on deism, as was Keith, for he felt that many of the leading Quakers had become deists, as far as they had any theology at all. The clergy, on their part, began to look on Keith as an ally. Some of them attended his disputations—in 1698 four of them, with the consent of the bishop of London, sat on the platform beside him at a special meeting for the denunciation of Quaker heresies.

Indeed one of the objects of the S. P. C. K. was the winning back of the Quakers to the Church, and at the first meeting of the Society recorded, on March 8, 1699, Thomas Bray and Col. Colchester were appointed to confer with Keith and learn what progress he had made in the conversion of "that misguided people." As a result of this conference the Society decided to employ Keith as its agent to travel throughout England refuting and, if possible, converting Quakers. It also undertook the printing and distributing of some of his anti-Quaker pamphlets. He began his work for the Society in May, 1699. On the

first Sunday in February, 1700, he made his first Communion in the Church of England.

"As an evidence of my owning the Church of England to be a branch of the true Catholic Church of Christ," he wrote, "I did, with great inner peace and satisfaction, I bless God, receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper by the ministry of Dr. Bedford at his Church [St. George's] in Buttolph Lane, London."

He makes no mention of confirmation. In all probability he was not confirmed, for at that time it does not appear to have been customary to confirm adults who were otherwise prepared for the reception of the Communion. He had been baptized as a child. In May, 1700, he was ordained deacon; in March, 1702, priest.

The adoption of Anglicanism by one who had ranked little if at all below Fox and Penn as a leader in Quakerism caused considerable stir. A satirical, anonymous pamphlet, *One Wonder More Added to the Seven Wonders of the World*, cited Keith's conversion as the eighth wonder and charged him with becoming a tool of the Church of England. Against this and similar attacks Keith felt it necessary to defend himself, which he did in a series of sermons, speedily published as pamphlets, in which he gives his reasons for abandoning Quakerism as well as those for entering the Church of England.

Briefly summarized, his objections to Quakerism were its lack of a creed; the unorthodox statements of its leaders on the doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation, the atonement, the bodily resurrection, and the last judgment; the emphasis on the inner light to the neglect of Scripture and the vagaries into which this often led; the claim to moral perfection; and the sectarian spirit.

What attracted him to the Church of England was its retention of the primitive faith; its learning; its liturgy; its historic ministry; its reasonableness and order; and the fact that it was the mother Church of English-speaking Christendom.

It is perhaps worth while to give some space to Keith's own words on these subjects, especially since Mrs. Kirby quotes but sparingly from him.⁶

The Quakers, said Keith, "are professed enemies to all creeds and confessions of faith." "They are at such great uncertainties in what they profess that no man can have any assurance where to bottom,

⁶One of the chief defects of Mrs. Kirby's treatment is that she so often summarizes Keith's views in her own words, seldom quoting more than a phrase or at most a sentence from Keith himself. Indeed at times she quotes more largely from his opponents than from him. The result is that the reader fails to get the flavor of the man himself, or to have adequate grounds for judging between him and his adversaries, or to be supplied with evidence on which to appraise Mrs. Kirby's estimate of his character.

or whether that which they own to-day will be allowed to be truth to-morrow. . . . And if inquiry should be made what faith they profess, it must be answered that nobody knows, nor themselves neither. Their meeting houses might be dedicated to the *Unknown God*."

"If their principles may be collected out of the books they publish, they are too erroneous, heretical, and blasphemous for any good Christian to comply with." In substantiation of this charge he cites William Penn as maintaining that Christ is not coequal with the Father, and quotes from Penn's *Serious Apology*: "That the outward person [of Christ] which suffered was properly the son of God, we utterly deny." And from another Quaker writer, William Shewen: "Not to Jesus, the son of Abraham, David, and Mary, but to God the Father, all worship, honor, and glory is to be given." "A Mahometan," adds Keith, "would have expressed greater reverence to Christ than this Quaker has done."

The Quakers, he said, aver that "Christ's Coming in the flesh, his suffering and death, was but a figure of Christ's suffering in us and therefore the use and remembrance of it ceaseth." They "tell people that Christ was begotten in them, born in them, crucified, dead, and buried, risen and ascended into heaven within them. . . . Christ born in the flesh was the figure and a facile representation (to use William Penn's phrase) of what is to be transacted in us. . . . This high sublime doctrine, which many admired because they did not understand it, they gave forth to be given by immediate revelation from heaven." But "the whole was nothing but what George Fox had gleaned from some old Ranters and Familists."

"There is a universal neglect among them of preaching Christ crucified, and concerning faith in him; preaching only the Light within and the Christ within. And when I began to preach up the fundamental principles of the Christian religion among them they stood up against me and charged me with preaching up new doctrines."

The Quakers, moreover, maintain "that the Scriptures are not the word of God." He quotes William Smith's *Primer*: Question: "Must I not try all things by the Scriptures?" Answer: "Nay, for the Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit, and it is the Spirit that tries whether the things be true or false." "Here," concludes Keith, "is another piece of the old serpent's subtility; for since the Spirit must try all things, they, laying a claim to the Spirit, have invested themselves with a pretence to make their own sentiments of greater authority than the sacred Scriptures." They "make no more of the written Word, the whole doctrine of the Gospel as outwardly delivered in the Holy Scriptures, but as crutches which they have no need of at all."

"The Light within teacheth not men those great fundamentals of the Christian religion, such as the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, the perfect Atonement and Satisfaction that Christ hath made . . . and that he is to be the judge of the quick and the dead. Also there are divers positive laws and precepts of the Gospel that the Light within teacheth us nothing of. These laws are not writ in our hearts without Scripture, nor antecedent of Scripture, but posterior to Scripture and by means of Scripture. . . . What we read ourselves [in Scripture] the Spirit of God, working with our industry and labor, causeth it to make deep and living impression on our hearts."

"Have not some of the most eminent among them been egregiously deceived, and taken their fanciful imaginations for divine lights? I could name persons of great note among them that have been scandalously mistaken, by their own confession, and took things upon trust for divine breathing that upon better examination proved to be infamous delusions. Did not some of the most celebrated Quakers follow the blasphemous enthusiastic delusions and waking dreams of James Naylor and John Perrot? . . . They father all their vilest errors and heresies upon the Spirit of Truth, according to the notion that they have the Spirit dwelling in them. . . . They are sure they possess the Spirit because they think so."

"The Quakers pretend to infallibility and a sinless perfection in this life. . . . George Whitehead [successor to Fox as leader of the English Quakers] laughs at the Church of England, who are always, from seven years of age to seventy, praying 'Lord have mercy upon us miserable sinners.' . . . a plain evidence of the intolerable pride that reigns among the Quakers."

After quoting a quaintly ungrammatical letter from John Audland to George Fox, in which Fox is addressed as if he were the deity himself, Keith concludes, "The Quakers are an infallible people—in every thing but speaking sense and writing English."

Moreover, they "call all others sects and sectaries, and themselves the Church, yet are certainly more bigoted into a sect and more implicitly led by sect-masters than any people in Christendom that I know of."

That Keith was a trenchant and vigorous pamphleteer who did not hesitate to use direct language is manifest from these quotations. It need hardly be added that his opponents used equally direct language. It must also be remembered that in his days the Quakers were not the quiet, peaceable, ultra-respectable folk they now are.

Keith's adversaries naturally wanted to know why he had remained a Quaker so long if he found their practices and assumptions

so erroneous. He replied frankly that he had been himself in error, but added: "I date not my conversion to Christianity from this change [to the Church of England], nay, nor from my first turning to the Quakers. I was well instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity by the good education I had (for which I praise God) before I knew the Quakers; and though in too many things I was misled by them . . . yet I retained a sound faith of the fundamentals of Christianity and did constantly profess the same"—which was quite true.

As for the Church of England, it teaches "the ancient, primitive, apostolic faith." It is "the Mother Protestant Church. . . . The Dissenters' forefathers had their Christianity, baptism, and Christian education and profession in her communion. . . . Now unless they can prove that she is changed from what she then was in any material thing from better to worse, which I think they cannot do, how can they justify their separation from her?

"And I think I may safely add that the wiser men and ablest in solid learning and piety . . . are much more numerous to be found in the Church of England. And what solid learning the ablest of the Dissenters have had . . . has been originally by means of Church of England men. . . . Yea, let the libraries and closets of the generality of the Dissenters' ministers be searched . . . and it will be found that they have more books of Church of England divines than any others."

As for the English liturgy with its set prayers to which so much objection is made, "the most pious as well as judicious whom the Dissenters esteem to and repute as Fathers [such as Luther and Calvin] have owned the lawfulness of set forms of prayer; yea, not only the lawfulness, but the great conveniency and necessity of them in the public worship of God. . . . An extempore prayer may be very formal, dead, and dry, and a prayer in a set form may be very lively, powerful, and effectual, as the experience of thousands daily confirms. . . .

"It is indeed one of the chiefest reasons that persuade me that in the public worship of God set forms are necessary, because the people ought to have a part in the external worship as well as in the internal, by confessing, praying, and giving thanks in common with their mouths and lips, as in believing in one common faith with their hearts. . . .

"To plead for using a new form every time that men pray is as improper and impertinent as to plead that every time we eat we must have a new dish or platter to eat out of. . . .

"It is a great mistake in many who think that they who pray in greatest variety of words pray most by the spirit or with grace, for it can be done by mere art without grace, especially when it is varnished with great seeming shows of fervour, by gestures and tones that move and stir the natural and animal passions and affections."

The ministry of the Church of England, he maintained, was scriptural. "This threefold distinction of Church government by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, upon a further search into the New Testament, I find so very clear as doth fully satisfy me, notwithstanding that by prejudice of education I was formerly principled against it; and also by searching into Church history . . . this distinction of Church rulers did all along remain, generally in all places until the Reformation. . . . The distinction and superiority of bishops over presbyters or elders is very clear to me out of St. Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus."

What seems especially to have impressed Keith in the Church of England—doubtless because of his experience of the vehemence of dissent—was its moderation and reasonableness. It condemns, he says, the extremes of popery on the one hand and of dissent on the other. It teaches "our duties to God, our neighbors, and ourselves in the just latitude and extent of them; it has no shifts and evasions of repentance and reformation; it allows no hopes of salvation but on Gospel terms; nor imposeth any articles of belief as necessary to salvation but the ancient creed; and no terms of communion but reasonable orders and decencies, as are free from all appearance of idolatry and superstition. . . . All its articles are reasonable and may be proved or defended by reason against all atheists and infidels." In short, "all it commands is both reasonable and certain."

An inevitable accusation against Keith was that he had joined the Church of England in the expectation of a "living." "I neither was nor yet am so hard put to it for a worldly living," he replied, "as some imagine and others wish and desire." He reminded his accusers that even the Quakers who scorned a "hireling ministry," contributed to the support of their itinerant preachers. "I might," he said, "have got a living among the Dissenters, perhaps more plentiful by the people's gratitude than by a set maintenance in the Church of England, which last way of living I think is the more honorable, and less obnoxious to many temptations, and every way as suitable to the Gospel."⁷

⁷The quotations from Keith on Quakerism and Anglicanism in this article are from three of his pamphlets: *A Sermon Preach'd at Turners-Hall the 5th of May, 1700*. By George Keith. London, 1700; *Mr. George Keith's Farewell Sermon preached at Turners-Hall May the 5th with his two Initiating Sermons Preach'd on May the 12th, 1700, at St. George's Butolphs-Lane by Billings Gate*. London, 1700; *Mr. George Keith's Reasons for Renouncing Quakerism and entering into Communion with the Church of England*. London, 1700. Copies of these, together with much other Keith material, are in the Harvard Library. The second does not (as a note in Mrs. Kirby's bibliography seems to indicate) include a reprint of the first. The matter is different. Mrs. Kirby strangely lists the third among "contemporary pamphlets" not by Keith.

As for Keith's dissatisfaction with Quakerism, Mrs. Kirby points out that long before he left it he had grown much further away from essential Quaker principles than he realized, and that his desire for a Quaker orthodoxy and his conclusion that the light within was not an all sufficient guide for the individual cut at the very roots of Quakerism. This naturally raises the query in the reader's mind, which Mrs. Kirby, doubtless wisely, does not discuss, as to whether what Keith found lacking in Quakerism may not be fundamental limitations of it.

It may be significant that a later and a much more profound theologian than Keith, namely, Frederick Denison Maurice, noted somewhat similar defects in Quakerism. "The Quaker and the Mystic," said Maurice, "habitually contemplate a divine presence in the heart; they associate that presence, very probably, with the life of our Lord; but if they do so, consciously or unconsciously they affix an import to his acts and words which is different from their obvious historical import." "Does not evidence, similar to that which compells us to acknowledge the truth of the mystical idea of an Indwelling Word, compell us to acknowledge that there is a truth beside and beyond this, which involves, under some terms or other, the belief of Mediation, Sacrifice, Satisfaction?" "The mystical doctrine may explain the position and circumstances of *man*; but these very circumstances, if the doctrine be true, imply a theology, and that theology it seems to me is the very thing which mysticism wants."³

Keith had been in the employ of the S. P. C. K. for two years when, in June, 1701, the S. P. G. was founded. He was at once looked to by the latter Society for advice on conditions in America. He informed it that many of the Christian Quakers in Philadelphia (with whom he had kept in touch by correspondence) had joined the Church of England, and that, in his opinion, many in other places would do the like if clergymen were sent over.

It appears to have been chiefly on his advice that in 1701 and 1702 the Society resolved to send a missionary to Maryland, another to Rhode Island, three to New Jersey, three to Pennsylvania, and six to New York. Early in 1702 it determined to send Keith himself on a missionary tour of the colonies.

On the boat on which he took passage he met the Rev. John Talbot. Talbot had ministered to a parish in Virginia eight years before and had secured appointment as ship's chaplain for the voyage out in order to get free passage so that he might return to America. He was so impressed by Keith and his plans that he became his assistant and companion and, after Keith's return to England in 1704,

³*The Kingdom of Christ*, Third Edition, London, 1883, pp. 76, 80, 95.

remained in Burlington, New Jersey, as pastor of the newly established St. Mary's Church, and missionary to other communities in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania.⁹

Keith's American tour was perhaps his most important service to Anglicanism, certainly his most significant for the Episcopal Church in this country. For two years he travelled up and down the Atlantic seaboard from New Hampshire to North Carolina, ministering to and encouraging Anglicans, disputing with and converting Quakers. Mrs. Kirby devotes two chapters to it. Keith published the journal of his tour,¹⁰ which was so well regarded by the S. P. G. that other missionaries were advised to use it as a pattern. It is an invaluable source for the religious history of the colonies. It was reprinted in 1851 in the now scarce *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, and had it not been for the paper shortage it would have been reprinted again in this number of the *Historical Magazine*.

On his return to England Keith served for a short time as lecturer at All Hallows Church, Lombard Street, London, and, in 1705, became rector of St. Andrew's Church, Edburton, Sussex. He continued to be consulted by the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G.; he kept in touch with many of the colonial clergy; he published three or four more attacks on the Quakers as well as a treatise on navigation; and made occasional forays into Quaker strongholds in his own and neighboring counties. He died as rector of Edburton in 1716 at the age of seventy-eight.

⁹For an excellent account of Talbot's New Jersey ministry see E. L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, Church Historical Society, 1938. As Mrs. Kirby (p. 126) points out, Dr. Pennington does not mention Talbot's previous ministry in America. This is somewhat surprising since Talbot himself, in a letter of May 3, 1703, printed in Dr. Pennington's volume (p. 90), says he had been in Virginia ten years before. Dr. Pennington devotes a chapter to the evidence, which he thinks conclusive, that Talbot was, in 1722, consecrated bishop by a non-juror. Mrs. Kirby takes it for granted that he was. When I first read Dr. Pennington's chapter a few years ago, I was inclined to agree with him. On rereading it now I am not so sure that the "new evidence" presented is much more than hearsay. The arguments against Talbot's consecration given by J. Fulton in W. S. Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. I, p. 541 ff. are still worth considering. Mrs. Kirby refers to Dr. Pennington's book as "a brief sketch of Talbot's life." She might well have added that it contained all of Talbot's extant letters (on pp. 85-161), and thus gives the reader more material on Talbot than she gives on Keith! Moreover, the Talbot letters contain much information about Keith. A list of Keith's letters to be found in the Library of Congress would have been a useful addition to Mrs. Kirby's bibliography.

¹⁰*A Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North America*, London, 1706.

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY

The First Missionary Society

Some Account of Its Foundation and Early History With a Brief Summary of Its Later Activities

By John Wolfe Lydekker*, M. A., F. S. A., F. R. Hist. S.

WITHIN thirty years of the *Mayflower's* historic voyage to the shores of New England the first of the great missionary societies was founded by a group of divines, merchants, and citizens of London. It is a circumstance of some significance that such an enterprise should have been inaugurated during the era of the English "Commonwealth", and that the activities of Archbishop Laud and his coadjutors—which became prominent factors in the virtual disestablishment of the Anglican Church by Cromwell's administration—had failed to include any organized provision for fulfilling the divine injunction of "preaching the Gospel" in the English colonies overseas.

The foundation of the society—generally known as "The New England Company"—largely owed its inception to the missionary labours of the Rev. John Eliot among the Indians of North America. The story of John Eliot—known to posterity as "The Apostle of the Red Man"—is one that cannot fail to stir the imagination of every aspiring missionary even in our own time. Eliot was probably born at Widford, a small village in the "Hundred" of Braughing situated some four miles from the ancient town of Ware in Hertfordshire, where he was baptized on 5th August 1604. His father, Bennett Eliot, owned property in Widford and the neighbouring parishes of Ware, Hunsdon, and Eastwick on the borders of Hertfordshire and Essex, and was beyond doubt the son (or grandson) of John Elyott (as then spelt) of Hunsdon whose name appears in the list of "Freeholders in the Hundred of Braughing" for the year 1561.¹ John Eliot's boyhood was spent at Nasing, a village some seven miles from Widford in the adjacent county of Essex. We have no record of his youthful studies until his

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¹This list, extracted from the *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 5, fo. 49, British Museum, is printed in Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, Vol. 1, Braughing Hundred, pp. 208-9. (1870-3.) The English counties were anciently divided into a number of administrative areas called "Hundreds". John Eliot's brother (?), the Rev. Philip Eliot, M. A., was rector of Hunsdon from 1644 to 1661. *Op. cit.* p. 48.

fifteenth year when he entered as a "pensioner" (i. e. paying scholar) at Jesus College, Cambridge. Three years later (1622) he took his B. A. degree. While at Cambridge he became acquainted with the great Puritan divine, Thomas Hooker, then a fellow and lecturer of Emmanuel College, who was already looked upon with suspicion as a dangerous man by the episcopal bench. Hooker presently left Cambridge and opened a school at Little Baddow, Essex, where Eliot joined him as his assistant, but after some time Hooker became a victim of the "Laudian persecution" and both he and Eliot began to dream of a new and freer life across the Atlantic. In the spring of 1631 Eliot (who had taken Anglican orders) decided to emigrate to New England, and in August he sailed for Boston in the *Lyon*, and was followed the next year by one of his sisters and her husband who took with them Eliot's fiancée, Ann Mumford. Meanwhile Hooker had retired to Holland where he remained until 1633 when he followed Eliot to America, arriving at Boston in the *Griffin*.

The Puritan colony of Massachusetts had been founded only a few years previously and had received a royal charter from Charles I in 1629 under the title of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England". Although the colony thus inaugurated was the direct outcome of the desire for freedom from religious persecution it is significant that the charter contains the following clause:—

"To win and incite the Natives of that Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the only true God and Saviour of Mankind and the Christian Faith, in our Royal Intention and the Adventurers' free Profession, is the principal End of the Plantation",

and that the seal of the Company bore the figure of an Indian with a label in his mouth inscribed "Come over and help us".²

On his arrival at Boston Eliot acted for a few months as minister there, but in November he was appointed "teacher" at the village of Roxbury (about one mile from Boston) of which the Rev. Thomas Welde was the incumbent. The post of "teacher" included what was virtually that of an assistant curate, and for nearly sixty years Eliot laboured as "teacher" and pastor of Roxbury. During this long period he gave up a great measure of his time to converting the Indians. His future wife, Ann Mumford, had reached Boston in the late summer of

²The seal of the S. P. G. (founded 1701) bears a similar inscription—*Transiens Adjuva Nos*—proceeding from a group of people standing on the sea-shore towards which a ship is sailing with a minister standing in the bows holding an open Bible in his hand.

1632 and she and Eliot were married in October of that year. Six children, five sons and a daughter, were born to them, of whom three of the sons died in their parents' lifetime.

Eliot soon found that to achieve any real success among the Indians he must acquire a knowledge of their language. As there was nothing in writing to assist him the labour was tremendous, but with the help of an Indian who had been a servant in an English household and understood English to a limited extent Eliot began to make good progress in his task. Realizing the need for translating the Scriptures into the Indian language he first translated the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and in 1643 he produced the first of his famous tracts, which was published in London. It was entitled

"New England's First Fruits in respect—

First. Of the $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Conversion of some} \\ \text{Conviction of divers} \\ \text{Preparation of sundry} \end{array} \right\}$ of the Indians.

Second. Of the Progress of Learning in the Colledge at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay,³ with divers other Special Matters concerning that Country. Published by the instant Request of sundry Friends who desire to be satisfied in these Points by many New England Men who are here at present, and were Eye or Ear Witnesses of the same. London, 1643."

This tract—the first of a series of eleven known as "The Eliot Tracts"—and many letters sent by the colonists to London, had a rousing effect upon public opinion in England as also in Massachusetts, and in 1646 the general court of that colony passed the first act for encouraging the propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians and recommending the elders of the churches to consider the best means for achieving this intention. Eliot was one of the first to comply with this recommendation, and on 28th October of that year (1646) he preached his first sermon to a meeting of Indians in their own tongue at Nonantum, situated some four or five miles from Roxbury. He chose as his text: "Prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God; 'Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live'" (Ezekiel XXXVII, v. 9); his address was followed by many questions from his hearers who assured him that they had understood all that he had said to them.

³i. e. Harvard, erected in 1639 largely due to the bequest of the Rev. John Harvard. Incorporated by charter dated 31 May 1650 under the presidency of Thomas Dudley, governor of Massachusetts Colony.

During the next three years Eliot wrote three more tracts, as follows:

Tract II

"The Day breaking if not the Sun rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New England. London, 1647."

Tract III

"The clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians of New England. Thos. Shepard.⁴ London, 1648."

Tract IV

"The glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England. Edward Winslow, London, 1649."

Edward Winslow, who published Tract IV, was governor of Plymouth Colony. He came to England in the following year (1649) as agent for the New England colonies and with the intention of obtaining the inauguration of a society to undertake the evangelization of the Indians. Winslow's advocacy of this cause and the publication of Eliot's tracts produced a profound effect upon Cromwell and several influential members of the "Long Parliament", which resulted in the passing of an ordinance on 27th July (1649) entitled "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England". After reciting that

"The Commons of England in Parliament assembled having received certain Intelligence that divers Heathen Natives of New England had, through the Blessing of God upon the pious Care and Pains of some godly English, who preached the Gospel to them in their own Indian Language, not only of barbarous become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed Charms and Sorceries and other Satanical Delusions, did then call upon the Name of the Lord;" and that "The Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst these poor Heathen cannot be prosecuted with that Expedition and further Success as is desired, unless fit Instruments are encouraged and maintained to pursue it . . . Universities, Schools, and Nurseries of Literature settled for further Instruction and civilising them; Instruments and Materials fit for Labour and Clothing, with other Necessaries, as encouragement for the best deserving among them provided, and many other Things necessary for so great a Work." . . .

⁴Thomas Shepard was born at Towcester in 1605. He graduated at Oxford and was ordained in the Anglican Church. He went to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1635 and was appointed minister at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was one of the founders of Harvard.

the ordinance enacted that there should be a corporation in England consisting of a president (Winslow), a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, to be known as "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England". By the terms of the ordinance the corporation was invested with power to acquire lands (not exceeding the yearly value of £2,000), also goods and money.⁵ For this purpose it was directed that a general collection should be made in every parish in England and Wales, which produced £12,000, and with this sum landed property was purchased at Eriswell in Suffolk, and Plumpstead in Norfolk, and several houses in London.

It is worthy of note that this ordinance was one of the early enactments of the new republican regime, having been passed within six months of the execution of Charles I. Thus "The Commons of England" (who had so lately usurped the functions of King, Lords and Commons) began their tenure of administration by a practical and business-like scheme for missionary work amongst the aboriginal peoples of their colonies. Whatever faults were committed by the Cromwellian administration its members should always be held in honour for their high-minded zeal and enthusiasm in this respect.

In order to assist the corporation in its work and designs, the ordinance directed that the "Commissioners of the United Colonies" should be the agents of the corporation in America. These commissioners had been inaugurated in 1646 by the articles of union of that year between the formerly separate colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven, and the so-called "Commonwealth" thus created had empowered its commissioners to act as its legal representatives. One of the first acts of the corporation was to authorize these commissioners to employ itinerant missionaries and teachers among the Indians, and to appoint a treasurer resident in New England. The commissioners thereupon appointed several missionaries of whom John Eliot was rightly regarded as the leader.

Eliot's sixth tract⁶, dedicated to "The Supreme Authority of this Nation, the Parliament of the Common Wealth of England", was published in London by the corporation, as were also his subsequent tracts and his translation of the Bible into the Indian language.

The corporation began its labours in the neighbourhood of Boston and in other parts of Massachusetts and also in the colony of New Amsterdam (afterwards New York). Among its missionaries the Rev. Thomas Mayhew proved an able coadjutor to Eliot: he is mentioned in Eliot's seventh tract entitled

⁵Vide Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances 1640-1656*, Part II, p. 66.

⁶Eliot's fifth Tract had been published in 1651 by Henry Whitfield.

"Tears of Repentance, or a further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England . . . related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, two faithful Labourers in that Work of the Lord. Published by the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel there, for the Satisfaction and Comfort of such as wish well thereunto. London, 1653."

Thomas Mayhew (born 1621) was the son of Thomas Mayhew (born 1592), a merchant of Southampton who went to America in 1631 and became "Governor" of Martha's Vineyard, Mass. Here he preached to the English and Indians and died at the age of ninety in 1682. His son, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., was the first minister of Martha's Vineyard and began to preach to the Indians in 1646. In 1657 he sailed for England to solicit further assistance in his work from the corporation, but the ship in which he was travelling was lost at sea with all her passengers and crew. Mayhew's tragic death proved a great loss to the work of the corporation as is attested in a letter from the New England commissioners to the treasurer, Richard Lloyd;—

" . . . By our last letter was certified you of Severall ^{persons} that we had incouraged to imploy their Labors in this kinde, but finde not that Effect thereof as we hoped & desired. The Losse of Mr. Mayhew in relation to this Worke is verie great, and so far as for present, we can see, irreparable. Our Thoughts have been of some and our Endeavours have improved to the Uttermost to supply that Place which is the most considerable in that Parte of the Country; his ffather (though ancient) is helpfull that way with one other Englishman, & two Indians that instruct the Rest upon the Lord's Days and at other Tymes. . . ."

Your verie loving ffriends
& servants
Commissioners of the United Colonies
JO. ENDECOTT, presd^t.
SIMON BRADSTREET
THO. PEARCE
JOS. WINSLOW
JOHN WINTHROPP
JOHN CALLCOTT
FRANCIS NEWMAN
WILLIAM LEETE.

Boston, the 26th. of September 1658.⁷

⁷Some Correspondence Between The Governors & Treasurers of The New England Company And The Commissioners of The United Colonies in America,

Eliot also felt Mayhew's death very deeply. In a letter about the Mayhews (father and son) and of their labours he wrote:

"If any of the human Race ever enjoyed Luxury of doing Good, if any Christian ever could declare what it is to have Peace, not as the World gives, but which surpasses the Conceptions of those who look not beyond this World, we may believe this was the Happoness of the Mayhews . . ."⁸

In the meantime Eliot had continued his work among the Indians with unwearying zeal, but it was not until 1660—fourteen years after he had begun his mission to them—that he began to baptize his more promising converts and to admit them to Holy Communion.

The final ejectionment of the "Rump Parliament" (as the remnant of the original "Long Parliament" was known) on the restoration of Charles II in this same year of 1660, rendered the ordinance of the 27th July 1649 inoperative and thereby terminated the existence of the New England corporation.⁹ But owing to the activities of the *etc., etc.*, pp. 4 and 5. (Privately printed from the originals in the possession of The New England Company, London, 1896.)

The following biographical notes on the commissioners may not be without interest:

JOHN ENDECOTT: born at Dorchester 1588; went to New England 1628. Succeeded John Winthrop (the elder) as governor of Massachusetts, in 1649. Died 1665.

SIMON BRADSTREET: born in Lincolnshire 1603: appointed secretary of Massachusetts on the colony's foundation in 1629: elected an assistant in the administration for 50 years in succession. Succeeded Sir John Leverett as governor of Massachusetts in 1679. Died 1697 after nearly 70 years of administrative service.

THOMAS PEARCE: went to New England 1633; became well known in Boston; died 1669.

JOSIAH WINSLOW: born in New England 1629: son of Edward Winslow, first president of the corporation (*vide, supra.*) Appointed assistant governor of Plymouth Colony, 1657 to 1673, when he succeeded his father as governor. Died 1680.

JOHN WINTHROP, F. R. S.: eldest son of Governor John Winthrop; born at Groton, Suffolk, 1606. Went to America in 1631: founded New London, Connecticut. Governor of Connecticut 1657. Died 1676.

FRANCIS NEWMAN: born in England; went to New Hampshire in 1638; removed to New Haven and became secretary under Governor Eaton; appointed assistant governor in 1653, and governor in 1658. Died 1660.

WILLIAM LEETE: born *circa* 1603. Went to New England in 1637: appointed governor of Connecticut 1661 to 1665 and from 1675 until his death in 1683.

⁸*Ibid.*; p. xxlll. The Mayhews were a missionary family *par excellence*. No less than four successive generations of them laboured among the Indians at Martha's Vineyard. The Rev. Experience Mayhew (1673-1758), son of the Rev. John Mayhew and grandson of Thomas Mayhew, was employed by the New England Company (the successor to the corporation) to translate the Psalms and St. John's Gospel into the Indian language. In 1727 he published his *Indian Converts*, being biographies of thirty Indian ministers and eighty other converts.

⁹All the enactments of the "Long Parliament" from the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 were declared null and void.

Hon. Robert Boyle and others, an order in council was obtained for a royal charter whereby a new society named "The Company for the Propagation of the Gospell in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America" (known thenceforward as "The New England Company") was to be incorporated and to be vested with the property of the former corporation. The order in council reads thus:—

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL, THE 10TH DAY
OF APRIL, 1661.

PRESENT.

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

His Royal Highness the	Earl of Sandwich.
Duke of York.	Earl of Lauderdale.
Lord Chancellor.	Lord Viscount Valentia.
Duke of Albemarle.	Lord Roberts.
Marquis of Dorchester.	Lord Seamore.
Lord Great Chamberlain.	Mr. Comptroller.
Lord Chamberlain.	Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.
Earl of Northumberland.	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.
Earl of Berks:	Mr. Secretary Morris.
Earl of Norwich.	Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper.

Upon reading of Mr. Attorney-General his Report to this Board upon a Petition of divers for Propagating the Gospell in America, to him referred by Order of the 14th. of November 1660, and a Draft prepared for renewing the Charter of the Corporation therein specified and full Debate thereof had: It is ordered that the said Corporation may by the said Charter have Power to purchase £2,000 per Annum, and may have Liberty to transport yearly £1,000 in Bullion or foreign Money, making Entry from Time to Time of what shall be so transported in the Port of London in the Custom House there. And the Lord Viscount Valentia is to consider of and examine the List of Names of the Members whereof the said Corporation is to consist, and to offer the same to the Board, and according to this Direction Mr. Attorney is to fill up the Blanks and perfect the said Draft of a Charter. And also to add thereunto a Clause that all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments heretofore given or bought to the Use or Uses in this Charter mentioned shall from henceforth be vested in the said Corporation and their Successors, with Power to sue for and recover the same and any Ar-rears thereof due.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

Pursuant to the order in council the royal charter was issued on the 7th of the following February (1662).

The Hon. Robert Boyle, whose exertions were chiefly instrumental in obtaining the charter through the influence of his friend, Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon and lord chancellor, was the seventh son of Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork. He was born at Lismore Castle, Ireland, on the 25th January 1627 and was educated at Eton College. Thereafter he made a continental tour of six years' duration, and on his return (in 1644) he resided at the manor of Stalbridge, Dorsetshire, which he had inherited on the death of his father. Here he devoted himself to the study of chemistry and natural philosophy. In 1654 he removed to Oxford where he studied theology and also engaged in important experiments in pneumatics. He was one of the original fellows of the "Royal Society" of which Charles II was the first president. He was also a director of the East India Company and in this capacity he fostered the propagation of Christianity in the Orient and procured at his own expense the translation of the Bible into Hindustani.

By the terms of the charter the New England Company was to consist of a governor, a treasurer, and forty-three other (named) members who were to elect from their number a clerk and such other officers as they might consider necessary. They were also empowered *inter alia* to elect new governors and members as occasion required, and to appoint commissioners in America to carry out the company's designs of

"Promoting and Propagating the Gospell among the Heathen Natives in or near New England and Parts Adjacent, in America, and also for civilizing, teaching, and instructing the said Heathen Natives and their Children, not only in the Principles and Knowledge of the True Religion, and in Morality, and the Knowledge of the English Tongue, and for other liberall Arts and Sciences, but for the educating and placing of their Children in some Trade, Mistery, or lawfull Calling."

The charter further enacted that a yearly account "of all Goods, Chattels, and Stocke, Rents, Issues, and Profitts" of all landed property and "of all Sources of Money received, issued, and paid by or for the Use of the said Company" was to be rendered, if required, to the lord chancellor, the treasurer of England, and the chief baron of the Court of Exchequer.

The members appointed by the charter included the earl of Claren-

don (lord chancellor), the earl of Southampton (lord high treasurer), the Lord Roberts (lord privy seal), the duke of Albemarle,¹⁰ the earl of Manchester (lord chamberlain of the household), and two other noblemen, and a number of distinguished private gentlemen (including two members of the former corporation), and aldermen and citizens of London. The new company was undenominational in character (though strictly Protestant) and its members included both churchmen and dissenters. The charter appointed the Hon. Robert Boyle as the first governor of the company—a post which he held until 1689 when he was forced to resign through failing health. Henry Ashurst, a prosperous merchant of London who had been treasurer of the former corporation and had assisted Boyle in his activities for obtaining the charter, was named in the charter as the company's first treasurer; his son, Sir William Ashurst, Knight, lord mayor of London in 1693, was elected governor of the company in 1696.¹¹

The company held its first "Court" on the 27th March 1662: this meeting appointed suitable commissioners and confirmed in their posts most of the missionaries and teachers of the former corporation. The printing of John Eliot's Bible into the Mohecan dialect was immediately begun and the work was published at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1663. This valuable volume (few copies of which are known to exist) bears as its general title:—

"The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New, translated into the Indian Language, and ordered to be printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England at the Charge, and with the Consent of the Corporation in England for the Propagation of the Gospell amongst the Indians in New England. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663."¹²

Eliot had been assisted in his great work of translation by the Rev. John Cotton, Jr., who has been called by posterity "The Patriarch of New England". Cotton was the son of the Rev. John Cotton, vicar of Boston, Lincolnshire, who was one of the early emigrants to Boston, Massachusetts. The Rev. John Cotton, Jr., was born at Boston

¹⁰This was the former General George Monck whose memorable march from Coldstream to London with "The Army in Scotland" (the military progenitors of H. M. Coldstream Guards) and subsequent activities in Westminster and the City resulted in the Restoration and the award of his own dukedom.

¹¹Sir William Ashurst's son, Robert, became governor of the company in 1720 on the death of his father. Another son, (Sir) Henry, town clerk of London, was an active member of the company for thirty-four years.

¹²Marmaduke Johnson had been sent out to New England by the company to print the first edition of Eliot's Bible.

in 1640; he was minister of Martha's Vineyard from 1664 to 1667 when he removed to Plymouth (1669-1697) and thence to Charlestown, South Carolina, in 1698.¹³ In order to assist the work of printing the Bible the Hon. Robert Boyle requested the company's commissioners to solicit the advice of the Rev. Charles Chauncey, B. D., president of Harvard. Like his friend John Eliot this eminent divine was a native of the same English shire, and according to the last historian of that county he bore "one of the most honoured names of Hertfordshire".¹⁴ He was born at Yardley-bury near Ware in 1592, and was the fifth son of George Chauncey, Esq., of that place. Educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was made professor of Hebrew and lecturer in Greek to the university, and in 1627 he was presented by Trinity College (of which he was a fellow) to the incumbency of Ware. Some years later he fell a victim to the "Laudian persecution" and was arraigned before the court of high commission. In 1633 he resigned his cure and four years later he emigrated to Massachusetts where he was appointed pastor of the Leyden Plymouth Church: he was elected president of Harvard in 1654, an appointment which he held until his death in 1672 at the age of eighty.¹⁵

In response to the representations of the company's commissioners Chauncey wrote to the Hon. Robert Boyle as follows:—

"Right worthy and much honoured in the Lord

Whom the Lord hath bene pleased, though in a more remote Way, with the Charge of innumerable Soules of the

¹³The Rev. John Cotton Jr.'s sister married the Rev. Increase Mather, D. D., son of the Rev. Richard Mather who was suspended for non-conformity from his incumbency of Winwick in Lancashire and who emigrated to New England in 1639. Increase Mather went to England and thence graduated at Trinity College, Dublin. He and his son, Cotton Mather, were frequent correspondents of the New England Company. In 1688 Increase Mather revisited England as representative of the united colonies. For many years he was president of Harvard, and died in 1723 after a ministry of over sixty years. His son, the Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D., F. R. S., (1663-1728), graduated at Harvard and became a noted linguist of Indian languages. As minister at Boston he became a leading personage both in ecclesiastical and civil matters; and in 1698 he was appointed a commissioner of the New England Company. He was the author of many works of which his *Magnalia Christi Americana* or *An Ecclesiastical History of New England* is the best known.

¹⁴Cussans' *History of Hertfordshire*, Vol. I, *Braughing Hundred*, p. 153, London, 1870-3.

¹⁵One of his descendants, Dr. Charles Chauncey, was the leading non-conformist minister at Boston, Massachusetts, in the eighteenth century (c. f. J. W. Lydekker *The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis*, pp. 69 et seq. S. P. C. K. London, 1936), and a collateral descendant, Sir Henry Chauncey, Knight, (great-grandson of George Chauncey of Yardley-bury) was the second historian of Hertfordshire: he published *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* in 1700.

poore Indians heere Natives in America. I presume so farre, that yor. Piety and Candor is such, that it will bee gratefull unto you, if I doe present you with a fewe Words in order to prompt this great Designe. Ther are two Things that manily conduce by Way of Preparation to the Conversion of the Indians, the Schooles for ther Education, and the Printing Presse to furnish them with fit Bookes, to bring up ther Children in Schooles, and Catechisme. For this latter Worke it hath pleased you to send over to us an able Printer Marma- duke Johnson who though he hath bene in former Times loose in his Life and Conversation, yet this last Yeere he hath bene very much reformed, and in Likelihood one that may carry on the Printing Worke with greater Advantage if your Selves shall be pleased to commit the Managing of the Presse to him, and to furnish him with Fonts of Letters, for the Printing of English, Indian, latine and Greeke, and some also for Hebrew, provided that he live not asunder from his Wife, as he hath done before, over long, which now is reported to be dead, as also that the Colledge to which all Impressions from the Foundation of it belonge, together with the Licensing, Correcting, and Oversight of Bookes printed, have a suitable Allowance by the Sheet, which they have been deprived of in the whole Impression of the Indian Bible which Losse I intreat you to consider, for it is not too late, besides other Indian Bookes have been printed without any Advantage at all to the Colledge.

Now as concerning Schooles for the Indians there hath not bene wanting eyther Diligence or Faithfullness in our honord. Commissioners to provide for them heere. Yet it were to be wished that both in Gramer Schooles, and in our Colledge also there should be appointed by yor. Selves a fit Salary for Schoole Maisters and Tutors in the Colledge for evey Indian that is instructed by them to incourage them in the Worke, wherein they have to deale with such nasty Salvages, and of whom they are to have a greater Care and diligent Inspection: as it used to bee in Colledges in Unversyties in the Education of Feelow Commoners which in Oxford hath bene ni lesse that £2 by the Quarter. I speake not in Regard of my Selfe, though I have trained up two of the Indians and instructed them in Arts and Languages untill that now they are in some good Measure fit to preach to the Indians and doe it with Hope of comfortable Successe. But I speake it for this Purpose, that it may proceed from yourselves as a standing Allowance to incourage so great a Worke.

I would not bee too bold with you, but as the Government of the Colledge is committed to mee, and I doe greatly thirste after the Promoting of so glorious and pretious a Worke, I have suggested the p'misses and I dsire the Lord to prosper

the Worke, and to yo^rselves and all pious Endeavours about it, and rest

Your Wor^{ps} in the Lord to my Power

CHARLES CHAUNCEY.

ffro' Cambridge 2 Octr. 1664.

To The Honble. Robert Boyle Esqr Governr
of the Corporation ffor the Indians in
New England. Thes present."¹⁶

In 1669 John Eliot sent the following report of his mission to the Hon. Robert Boyle which, though somewhat lengthy, gives a very comprehensive account:—

"The present State of the Indians in the Massachusetts gov^{mt} in the Matter of Religion this present Year 1669.

Being called upon by Our Right Wor^pfull Commissioners to give particular Accompt of every Place of our praying Indians, & of such, by Name, as labour among y^m, which yey doe, because yey are called upon by the Right Honorable the Corporation in London, to send such an Accompt unto y^m; my Accompt, raptim, is as followeth.

Jurisdiction: the praying Indians are many. The chiefe Towne is Natik. There the most principal of the Church reside, there be the ordinary Assemblys of the Church held & there is the Administration of the Sacram^t, Baptism & the Lord's Sup^r. There be betwixt 30 & 40 Communicants at the Lord's Table. Sundry are upon ye probatory Confession to be received, one is under Censure. We have two constant Indian Teachers in the Church, one named John, the other Antony. Our Chiefe Indian Civile Ruler is Waban, next him Piumbuhhow, Wutasakompauin, Mishosinan. Here Capt. Gookins¹⁷ keepeth his Chief Courts, but I shall not enter upon the History of their civile Affaires. The 2d. Towne is Pakenuit. The constant Teacher of this Place is named William. The Chiefe Ruler was Josiss who is this summer slaine by the Mauquaog Indians. In this Towne are 8 or ten more or lesse upon their probational Confession, & because some of y^m are very ancient, not able to go to Natik; therefore the Church have appoynted a Meeting at this Towne this Autumne, to heare their Confessions of Christ, & to receive such

¹⁶Some Correspondence Between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company, etc. pp. 9, 10.

¹⁷Daniel Gookin(s), born in Kent 1612; went with his father to Virginia in 1621 and removed to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1644. Appointed Speaker of the House of Deputies in 1651 and made a magistrate in 1652. In 1656 he was appointed superintendent of all the Indians who acknowledged the Massachusetts government, a post which he held until his death in 1687. He greatly assisted John Eliot in his work among the Indians.

into the Church as (through Grace) shall be approved. Many of our choyce Instruments of this Place are dead, here my deare Son Taught who is deceased, & these have (without the least Motion of mine) called my Son in law Mr. Habbakuk Glover to teach & order y^m, who hath this Summer discharged ye Work to theire Acceptance & Satisfaction. Theire Civile Courts & Affaires Capt. Gookins doth order.

The 3d. Towne is Ogquonikongquamesit. Here the Teacher was Nausquonit who by Reason of Age & Infirmary, hath now laid it downe, & yey have chosen in his Roome Job (one of your Schollars at Cambridge), & Sampson. These two are by the Church app^{ved} to teach there. Theire Chiefe Ruler is Owannamug, a godly wise Man. Sundry of this Towne are joyned to the Church.

The 4th. Towne is Hassannemesut. The constant Teacher in this Place is Tappakkoowillin a good Man. His elder Brother is one of the Civile Rulers of this Towne—the above named Job is another of his brothers. James who had an Hand in printing the Bible is another good old Man; theire Father was last Yeare joyned to the Church & baptized. The last Court at Natic Capt. Gookins did adjoyne Petahkey in Rule with Anuweekit, who was the first Ruler in the Place & hath done valiantly. Sundry of this Towne are of the Church.

The 5th. Towne is Maqwongkommuk. They call it a new Towne. The Church appoynted & sent Wohwohquoahadt to teach y^m & Pomham is theire Ruler.

The 6th. Towne is Quanetusset. These are newly come in to pray unto God, & having met with some Discouragement, the Work goeth on slowly. The Church hath sent Monatunkuanet to teach them, & he joyning with Tuppakkoowillin, they together, have the Care of y^t new Place Committed to y^m.

The 7th. Towne is Nayhop. The Teacher of y^t Place is John Thomas, whose godly Father was killed by the Mauquaog Indians when early in the Morning he was in the River taking up an Eelpot, he was shot dead. The Incurtions of the Mauquaog Indians have depopulated this Place for the present. The Indians being removed to other Places, here old Tahattawans a very godly Man, was Ruler, & his Son after him, both dead.

The 8th Towne is Wamesut. Here the constant Teacher is Georg. Theire chiefe Ruler Nompow, whose Brother (a promising young Man) was last Yeare slain by the Mauquaogs, as he was fishing in the River. Here is the Seat of War, here we maintained a Garrison a great p^t of this Summer, here be two Forts one of non praying Indians about 2 mils up the River. These did (this Spring) reject praying to God & refused to desist from pawwauing, when Capt. Gookins & I, put such Conditions on y^m if yey tooke

Shelter in a praying Towne. These with many more non praying Indians against Capt. Gookins & my Counsel, made an imprudent & unspous (unprosperous?) Expedition against the Mauquaogs, where Josias was slain & all these Sachems; and most of ye People who did reject the Lord, this Spring which Hand of God, the Indians take Notice of.

Thus have I according to my Duty on the suddaine drawne up the present State of the Indian Work & the Wheelles that are in present Motion. I shall at present give you no further Trouble, much honored in the Lord, but comitting you to the Lord I rest,

Yours to honor & serve you,
in our Lord Jesus.
JOHN ELIOT.¹⁸

The above report was written at the request of the New England commissioners who sent it with a similar report from Thomas Mayhew, Sr., of the work at Martha's Vineyard, under cover of a letter dated the 8th September, 1669.¹⁹

The work of the New England Company (which for some years had included a mission to the Long Island Indians conducted by the Rev. Thomas James who was minister of East Hampton, L. I., from 1650 until his death in 1696) sustained a severe set-back during the Indian rising known as "King Philip's War" in 1675. During this terrible conflict a great part of the old colony of Plymouth was devastated, and the English settlers were forced to seek protection in Boston and the neighbouring villages. With his customary disregard for his own personal safety John Eliot had done his utmost to make peace: on one occasion he had met "King Philip" and urged him to repent, but the chief seized hold of a button of Eliot's coat saying "I care no more for your Gospel than this button".²⁰ Many of the Christian Indians, chiefly from Natick—the "headquarters" of Eliot's mission—were deported by the government to Deer Island in Boston harbour until the end of the war when with the aid of grants from the New England Company they were re-settled in the Boston dis-

¹⁸*Some Correspondence Between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company, etc.*, pp. 27 to 30.

"The Mauquaog Indians" mentioned in this letter were the war-like Mohawks, the senior tribe of the Iroquois confederation of the "Five Nations", who at this period were a constant menace to their more peaceable neighbours. It was not until the early part of the succeeding century that their evangelisation by missionaries of the S. P. G., and the administrative efforts of the "Commissioners for Indian Affairs" did much to check the Mohawk aggressions against other tribes.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁰Quoted in D. Chamberlain's monograph *Eliot of Massachusetts*, p. 78, Independent Press Ltd., London, 1928.

trict. In a letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle in October of that year (1675) Eliot wrote:—

“ . . . I have much to write of Lamentation over ye Work of Christ among our praying Indians, of which God hath called you to be Nursing Fathers. The Work (in our Pattent) is under great Sufferings. It is killed (in Words, Wishes, & Expression) but not in Deeds as yet. It is (as it were) dead, but not buried, nor (I believe) shall be. . . .

There be 350 Soules or thereabout, put upon a bleake bare Iland, the fittest we have, where yey suffer Hunger & Could. There is neither Foode nor competent Fuel to be had, & yey are bare in Clouthing because yey cannot be received to work for Cloathing, as yey were wont to doe. Our Rulers are carefull to order y^m Foode but it is so hard to be pformed y^t yey suffer much. I beg your Prayers, y^t the Lord would take Care of y^m & provide for y^m. I cannot without Difficulty Hardship & Peril, get unto y^m. I have bene but twice with y^m. Yet I praise God y^t yey be put out of the Way of greater Perils Dangers & Temptations. Capt. Goodkins & I did this Week visit another Company (where be 59 Soules), at Concord, whom we have ordered in as much Safety as the Difficulty of the Times would permit us, & so we commit y^m to God, begging his Protection over y^m. From there we went to Pentuket, to visit the poore Wameset Indians, who in a Fright fled into the Woods, until yey w^{re} halfe starved; the Occasion of theire Flight was because some ungodly & unruley youth came upon y^m where yey w^{re} ordered by Authority to be, called them forth theire Houses, shot at y^m, killed a Childe of godly Parents, wounded his Mother & 4 more. . . .

At another Place there were a Company making ready to goe to the Iland, but were surprised by the Enemie, & caryed away captive & we cannot heare any Thing of y^m, what is become of y^m, whether any of y^m be martyred we cannot tell, we cannot say how many there be of y^m, but more yⁿ an hundred, & sundry of y^m right Godly, both Men & Women.

Another great Company of our new praying Indians of the Niepmuk fled at the Beginning of the Warrs, first to Conecticot & offered y^mselves to Mr. Pinchon one of o^r Magistrates, but he (though willing) could not receive y^m; yey fled from thence to Unkas (who is not in Hostility against the English) & I hope yey be there. This is the present State of the most of o^r praying Indians in our Jurisdiction. . . .

Your Honors to serve you
in o^r Lord Jesus.
JOHN ELIOT.”²¹

Roxb: this 17 of the 10. 75.

²¹*Some Correspondence Between The Governors And Treasurers of the New England Company*, pp. 53-4.

In 1687 Eliot's "dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful Wife" (as he called her) died, and in the following year he resigned his cure at Roxbury owing to his advancing years and infirmities. He died on the 20th May 1690 in his eighty-sixth year²² leaving his work at Natick to be carried on by his Indian converts. The first and greatest missionary of the many who laboured under the New England Company, it has been truly said of John Eliot that "he was one of the world's standard-bearers, a strong man who lived simply; a scholar who was also a man of action; a reformer without rancour; and a Christian who lived by faith."²³

Eliot's death was soon followed by that of the Hon. Robert Boyle who died (unmarried) on the 30th December 1691. By his will he left a handsome endowment to the New England Company to provide funds for its missionaries.²⁴ He was succeeded as governor of the company by Robert Thompson²⁵ until 1696 when Sir William Ashurst became the third governor.

In the meantime a further mission had been established at Mashpee some fifty miles from Boston where the Rev. Richard Bourne was the first missionary, who was succeeded in 1682 by the Rev. John Cotton. The work in the Natick and Mashpee missions was so successful that by the early years of the eighteenth century most of the Indians in Massachusetts had become Christians. The following letter written by the Revs. Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and Nehemiah Walker (who had succeeded Eliot as minister of Roxbury)²⁶ gives an interesting and detailed account of the Indian Missions:—

"There were in the Southern Parts of this Province, about four or five Years ago (when your Commissioners here sent a couple of English Ministers, who were Masters of the English Tongue, to visit them) no less than thirty several Congregations of Indians, who commonly assembled themselves every Lord's Day, and, a great Part of them, to Lectures on other Days also, for the Worship of the great God and our Lord Jesus Christ. We cannot understand that the Number of the Congregations is considerably altered from what it was when the Gentlemen who then examined their

²²The only son to survive him was the Rev. Joseph Eliot, minister of Guilford, Conn., from 1664 to 1694.

²³*D. Chamberlain, Eliot of Massachusetts*, p. 74.

²⁴A further source of income accrued to the company by the will of the Rev. Daniel Williams, D. D., who died 26 January 1716.

²⁵Robert Thompson had been elected a member of the company in 1688.

²⁶Nehemiah Walker was born in Ireland in 1663, and accompanied his father, Thomas Walker, to Boston in 1679. He married a daughter of Increase Mather, and in 1698 he was appointed one of the company's commissioners. He died in 1750 after serving the cure of Roxbury for sixty-two years.

Condition brought in that Report of them. Indeed, the Number of Indians in this Land is not comparable to what it was fifty Years ago. The Hand of God has very strangely wasted them; and the War which they began upon the English in the Year 1675, hastened a strange Desolation upon whole Nations of them. Almost all that remain under the Influence of the English, in this Massachusetts Province, are so far Christianized as that they believe there is a God, and that Jesus Christ is the SON of GOD, and the Saviour of the world. Mr. Experience Mayhew, who is Grandson to the old Gentleman that first instructed the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, and, like his Grandfather, a laborious Teacher among them, informs us, that there are about one hundred and four score Families of Indians on that Island; and of these, there are no more than two Persons which now remain in their Paganism. He is at this Time, gathering another Church of Indians, whereof he is himself to be the Pastor.

In the Indian Congregations, there were at the Time of our last Visitation (which we said was about four or five Years ago) about thirty-seven Indians who were the constant Preachers of the Gospel unto them in their own Language, in which they have Catechisms, and Bibles, and Psalm Books, and other Books of Piety translated by the vast Labours of worthy Englishmen.

Besides these there are seven or eight English Ministers, who have learned the Indian Tongue, and visit the Indian Assemblies, and pray and preach among them, and give such Directions as they see needful for their Affairs. The Indian Ministers very frequently apply themselves to these English ones for their Advice about instructing the Flocks under their Charge: and some of the English Preachers do constantly spend every Lord's Day with the Indian Assemblies, having taken the Charge of them.

How the ordinary Congregations among the Indians are inclined, and how instructed, may be a little apprehended from some Lines in a Letter now lying before us, dated not many Weeks ago, from a very valuable Servant, namely Mr. Samuel Danforth;²⁷ he says: 'They met me at Little Compton, about two Months since, to hear me preach. Had you been there with me to see how well they filled up the Seats, with what Gravity they behaved themselves, what Attention they gave, what Affection they shewed; how perfectly Powquachoise (an Indian) prayed (for I had put it upon him to pray, having never before heard him pray, and being willing to have some Trial of his Ability, in order to his Approbation of Office); how melodiously Jonathan George (another In-

²⁷Samuel Danforth (nephew of Thomas Danforth, deputy-governor of Massachusetts, in 1679) was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1666. After graduating at Harvard he became (Congregational) minister at Taunton, Massachusetts, where he died in 1727.

dian) set the Tune for the Psalms, and carried it out; and how dexterously the young Lads of twelve Years old could turn to the Proofs throughout the Sermon; and how thankful they were to me at the Last that I would take so much Pains as to come so far from Home to preach to them, I am sure you would be much affected with it.'

Though there are some Congregations of the Indians which are not advanced unto all the Privileges of the Evangelical Church State, combining for and enjoying of all special Ordinances, yet a considerable Number of them are so. Some new Churches have been lately formed and filled, and more will quickly be gathered. They have Pastors and Elders of their own, ordained sometimes by the Hands of English Ministers, and sometimes by the Hands of Indian Ministers in the Presence of the English, all after the solemn English Manner; and by Admonitions and Excommunications publicly dispensed, they proceed against scandalous Offenders when any such are found amongst them. . . ."

March 2nd 1705.

INCREASE MATHER
COTTON MATHER
NEHEMIAH WALKER²⁸

In the eighteenth century the labours of the New England Company were prosecuted with increasing success until the outbreak of the War of Independence. The Company's extant records during this period are, unfortunately, few, but it seems that the work was chiefly performed by itinerant missionaries and teachers, both English and Indian. With the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the United States in 1783 the company had perforce to discontinue its operations in New England,²⁹ and in 1786 it transferred its activities to New Brunswick and Canada, the work being carried on as heretofore by itinerant missionaries supervised by a board of commissioners.

In 1822 the company transferred its labours from New Brunswick to Canada and (later) to British Columbia, the principal spheres of its work being as follows:—

1. The Grand River (between Brantford and Lake Erie) among the Mohawks and members of the Iroquois tribes who

²⁸S. P. G. archives: the letter from which this excerpt is taken was sent by Sir William Ashurst (governor of the company) to the secretary of the S. P. G., which had a few months previously begun its great mission to the Mohawks.

²⁹The work of the S. P. G. was similarly terminated in the former American colonies and its missionaries removed to Canada, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland.

had settled there under the celebrated Christian Chief Joseph Brant.³⁰

2. On the shores of Rice Lake and Chemong Lake.
3. On the Garden River near Sault St. Marie (between Lakes Superior and Huron).
4. On Kuper Island, British Columbia.

The work on the Grand River was greatly assisted by Joseph Brant's son, John Brant, the last chief of the Mohawks,³¹ who acted as a lay agent for the company until the Rev. William Hough became the company's first resident missionary in 1827. During the next fifty years the work on the Grand River was carried on with conspicuous success, churches, parsonages, schools, and a "Mechanics' Institution" (afterwards transformed into "The Mohawk Institution") being erected in various localities. In 1871 the mission was divided into four independent branches, namely, the Mohawk, Tuscarora, Kanyageh, and Cayuga stations.

The Rice and Chemong Lake missions were established in 1829, and in 1830 a school was opened at Rice Lake, and a new church was built in 1871. At Chemong a school was built in 1830 and a chapel in 1858.

At the Garden River a mission-house was built in 1856 and a new school in 1860. This mission was finally abandoned in 1871 owing to the small number of Indians resident there of whom the majority were adherents of the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1881 the company opened a mission station on Kuper Island, British Columbia.

In addition to the Missions above mentioned the company made occasional grants (up to the year 1878) for schools and other special purposes to several localities including the following:—

Canada. The Bay of Quinté, The Red River Settlement, Sarnia and Walpole Island, the Diocese of Saskatchewan, and Middlesex County.

³⁰For an account of Joseph Brant (1742-1807) and the settlement of the Mohawks at Brantford and the Grand River see J. W. Lydekker *The Faithful Mohawks*, Cambridge University Press, 1938, Chaps. VI, VII, & VIII. The Mohawks had long been converted by the efforts of the S. P. G. missionaries who laboured amongst them for over a hundred years (i. e. from 1704 until after the death of Joseph Brant in 1807). A full account of the S. P. G.'s Mohawk Mission is given in J. W. Lydekker's *The Faithful Mohawks*.

³¹John Brant died in the great cholera epidemic of 1832. In 1827 the British Government had appointed him "Superintendent of the Six Nations".

The West Indies. Jamaica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and The Virgin Islands, and a substantial gift to The Society for the Conversion of Negroes.

South Africa. The schools for Zulu children near Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

[In compiling this article my acknowledgments are primarily due to *Some Correspondence Between The Governors And Treasurers Of The New England Company In London, etc., etc.*, London, 1896 (privately printed), and *A Sketch Of The Origin And Recent History Of The New England Company* by "The Senior Member of the Company" (Henry W. Busk), London, 1884. J. W. L.]

CLERGYMEN LICENSED TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES
BY THE BISHOPS OF LONDON: 1745-1781

*Compiled by George Woodward Lamb**

IN 1851 the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, which unfortunately had itself too short a history, published a valuable volume:

Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for Year 1851, published by order of the Executive Committee of the Society; New York, Stanford & Swords, Publishers, 1851. Pages xliii + 187.

The society had as its president in that year the Rt. Rev. Thomas C. Brownell, D. D., third bishop of Connecticut; and as vice-president, the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., one of the great preachers and historians of the American Church, who rendered many distinguished services to the cause of American Church history.

The publishing committee which prepared the above volume consisted of: Dr. Hawks; the Rev. Dr. William B. Stevens, later fourth bishop of Pennsylvania (1865-1887); the Rev. Dr. William I. Kip, later first bishop of California (1853-1893); the Rev. Benjamin Franklin, secretary of the society; and Messrs. Robert Bolton, Jr., and George L. Duyckinck.

In this volume, pages 107-120, is a table entitled

A List of Persons Licensed to the Plantations by the Bishops of London from the Year 1745 inclusive.

[From the Fulham MSS.]

Presumably, this list was copied by Dr. Hawks in London, during his researches there. It has been found to be indispensable to students of colonial history in helping to fix the dates of ordination of many clergymen who labored here, and also to determine the approximate dates of the beginning of their work as priests, for there is no record

*The Reverend Dr. Lamb is librarian and treasurer of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

of any clergyman in deacon's orders alone being licensed for the colonies.

This volume is rare. Moreover, it is felt that the information contained in this particular *List of Persons Licensed to the Plantations by the Bishops of London from the Year 1745 [to 1781]* ought not only to be made more accessible, but more readily usable by being listed in alphabetical order.

Not all entries in this list are particularly useful to American scholars. Therefore, the clergymen licensed by the bishops of London for the following areas or "plantations" will *not* be included in the table below:

Africa, Antigua, Bahama Islands, Barbadoes, Bermudas, Cape Breton, Canada, Carribees, St. Christophers, Dominica, Granada, Guadaloupe, Jamaica, St. John's Island, Leeward Islands, Montserrat, Mosquito Shore, Nevis, Newfoundland, New Providence (Bahamas), Nova Scotia, Quebec, Tobago, and the Island of St. Vincent.

Those clergymen licensed for the colonies or regions which are now part of the United States will be found in the table below. Those colonies or regions as they appear in the list of the bishops of London, with the total number of clergymen for each, are:

Albany—2; America in General—8; North Carolina—32; South Carolina—57; Connecticut—5; East Florida—4; West Florida—5; Georgia—11; Maryland—46; Massachusetts—5; New England—35; New Hampshire—3; New Jersey—20; New York—18; Pennsylvania—24; Rhode Island—2; and Virginia—145.

This is a grand total of 422.

THE BISHOPS OF LONDON DURING THE AMERICAN COLONIAL ERA: 1607-1783

On April 10, 1606,* the charter of the Virginia Company was granted. The original flotilla of three ships did not sail from London until December 20, 1606, and was detained by contrary winds near the English coast until February 8, 1606/07. On that date they left the English shores and arrived at Cape Henry, April 26, 1607. They finally fixed upon the site at Jamestown and disembarked there May 13, 1607. Richard Vaughan was bishop of London when the flotilla

sailed; when they finally settled at Jamestown, Thomas Ravis was the occupant of that see.¹

<i>Bishop of London</i>	<i>Dates of Occupancy with Date of Death or Transfer</i>
Richard Vaughan	1604-1607 (d. March 30th)
Thomas Ravis	1607-1609 (d. December 14th)
George Abbot	1610-1611 (transferred to Canterbury)
John King	1611-1621 (d. March 30th)
George Montaigne [Mountain]	1621-1628 (transferred to Durham)
William Laud	1628-1633 (transferred to Canterbury)
William Juxon	1633-1660 (transferred to Canterbury)
Gilbert Sheldon	1660-1663 (transferred to Canterbury)
Humphrey Henchman	1663-1675 (d. October 7th)
Henry Compton	1675-1713 (d. July 7th)
John Robinson	1714-1723 (d. April 11th)

The list of licensees begins in 1745 in the episcopate of Edmund Gibson and is concluded in that of Robert Lowth:

Edmund Gibson	1723-1748 (d. August 4th)
Thomas Sherlock	1748-1761 (d. July 18th)
Thomas Hayter	1761-1762 (d. January 9th)
Richard Osbaldeston	1762-1764 (d. May 15th)
Richard Terrick	1764-1777 (d. March 29th)
Robert Lowth	1777-1787 (d. November 3rd)

To find the name of the bishop of London who licensed a particular clergyman, the date of the license is to be checked with the above table. A few examples will illustrate this:

Jeremiah Leaming of Connecticut was licensed to "New England" on June 21, 1748. This license was issued by Bishop Edmund Gibson, since his death did not occur until August 4, 1748.

Richard Mansfield, also of Connecticut, was, however, licensed by Bishop Thomas Sherlock, Gibson's successor. Mansfield's license is dated August 11, 1748—a week after Gibson's death.

Samuel Andrews of Connecticut was licensed October 26, 1761. This must have been by Bishop Thomas Hayter, Sherlock having died July 18th of that year.

¹The list and dates of the bishops of London are taken from: F. M. Powicke (ed.), *Handbook of British Chronology*; London, Royal Historical Society, 1939; pp. 159-160.

Jonathan Boucher's license to Virginia is dated March 26, 1762. It was issued by Bishop Richard Osbaldeston, Hayter having died January 9, 1762.

Thomas Browne, licensed July 28, 1764, to "America in General", was thus authorized by Bishop Richard Terrick, Osbaldeston having died May 15, 1764.

The last priest who, according to the list, was licensed to any of the thirteen American colonies, was Thomas Lambert Moore of New York on September 21, 1781—nine days before the beginning of the siege of Yorktown and just about a month before the surrender (October 19th) of Cornwallis.

LIST OF CLERGYMEN LICENSED BY THE BISHOPS OF LONDON TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES 1745-1781

[In alphabetical order]

<i>Surname Followed by Christ's Name</i>	<i>Date of Bishop of London's License</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed Under</i>	<i>Additional Notations on the Bishop's List²</i>
A			
ADAMS, Alexander	December 21, 1748	Maryland	
AGAR, William	June 21, 1768	Virginia	
AGNEW, John	June 17, 1753	Virginia	P
ALDINGTON, William	June 11, 1775	New Hampshire	
ALEXANDER, John	April 28, 1766	Georgia	
ALKIN, Thomas	February 25, 1766	Maryland	
ALLEN, Benet	September 30, 1766	Maryland	Come home
ANDREWS, John	April 12, 1749	Virginia	
ANDREWS, John	July 16, 1753	South Carolina	
ANDREWS, John	February 19, 1767	Pennsylvania	M Went to Maryland
ANDREWS, Samuel	October 26, 1761	New England	M
ANDREWS, William	June 10, 1770	New York	M
ANDREWS, Robert	December 26, 1772	Virginia	Ware Parish
AUCHMUTY, Samuel	July 20, 1747	New York	Dead
AVEN, Archibald	February 2, 1767	Virginia	
AVERY, Ephraim	June 2, 1765	New York	M Dead
AVERY, Isaac	October 18, 1769	Virginia	
AYRES, William	December 21, 1767	New Jersey	M

²In lack of more definite information, it is thought by some historical students that the name of a parish appearing in this column after the name of a minister licensed for a definite colony indicates that the minister mentioned had lived in that particular colony before going to England for ordination, and that the vestry of the parish mentioned had given him a sort of "Title to Orders" by recommending him to the bishop of London, and declaring that it would be willing to consider extending a call to him if the parish should be vacant when he returned "with orders".

B

BABCOCK, Luke	February 2, 1770	New England	M Dead
BADGER, Moses	February 23, 1767	New Hampshire	M Dead
BAGS [BASS], ³ Edward	May 24, 1752	New England	M
BAILEY, Jacob	March 17, 1761	New England	M Nova Scotia
BAKER, Thomas	August 24, 1769	Virginia	
BALMAIN, Alexander	October 11, 1772	Virginia	Cople Parish
BARNETT, John	May 2, 1765	North Carolina	M Bad man
BARRELL, William	March 4, 1760	Maryland	
BARRON, Alexander	June 17, 1753	South Carolina	
BARRON, Robert	February 2, 1753	South Carolina	
BARTON, Thomas	January 29, 1755	Pennsylvania	M Dead
BATWELL, Daniel	October 16, 1773	America in General	M
BEACH, Abraham	June 14, 1767	New Jersey	M
BEARDSLEY, John	October 26, 1763	New England	M Nova Scotia
BEETHAM, Robert	October 16, 1745	South Carolina	
BELL, Hamilton	October 19, 1747	Maryland	
BELL, Hamilton	February 28, 1774	Maryland	Somerset Parish
BERRY, Jeremiah	December 22, 1768	Maryland	
BEWSKER, Joseph	March 2, 1752	Virginia	
BISSETT, George	May 6, 1767	Rhode Island	
BLACKWELL, Robert	June 11, 1772	New Jersey	M Gloucester County. Dis- missed ⁴
BLAGROVE, Benjamin	March 5, 1772	Virginia	Elizabeth City
BLAND, William	June 24, 1767	Virginia	
BLIN, Peter	September 29, 1769	North Carolina	M
BLOOMER, Joshua	February 28, 1769	New York	M
BLOUNT, Nathaniel	September 21, 1773	North Carolina	M St. Thomas' Parish
BOSTWICK, Gideon	March 14, 1770	Massachusetts	M
BOUCHER, Jonathan	March 26, 1762	Virginia	
BOWDEN, John	May 29, 1774	New York	Shenesboro'. Refused it.
BOWERS, Peter	March 18, 1753	New England	M
BRACE, John	March 1, 1775	Virginia	Elizabeth Parish
BRACKEN, John	July 6, 1772	Virginia	Amelia County
BRAIDFOOT, John	April 25, 1772	Virginia	
BRAITHWAITE, Thomas	January 6, 1776	Maryland	
BRANDER, John	March 11, 1759	Virginia	
BRIGGS, Hobart	April 5, 1768	North Carolina	M

³EDWARD BASS (November 23, 1726-September 10, 1803) is undoubtedly correct. William Stevens Perry in his *History of the American Episcopal Church*, 1, p. 320, states that Edward Bass was "admitted to holy orders by Dr. Sherlock, bishop of London, on the 24th of May, 1752." He was consecrated first bishop of Massachusetts and seventh bishop of the American Episcopal Church on May 7, 1797, by Bishops White, Provoost, and Claggett.

⁴Blackwell was dismissed because he joined the Continental army as a chaplain and surgeon. After the war he served as assistant minister of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

BROOKE, Clement	January 29, 1755	South Carolina	
BROWN, Richard	July 9, 1750	Maryland	
BROWNE, James	June 24, 1779	Georgia	M St. George's Parish. In England.
BROWNE, Marmaduke	January 29, 1755	New England	M Dead
BROWNE, Thomas	July 28, 1764	America in General	
BRUMSKILL, John	September 29, 1752	Virginia	
BUCHAN, Robert	March 16, 1772	Virginia	
BUCHANAN, John	August 13, 1775	Virginia	Henrico Parish
BUCKHAM, William	April 17, 1763	Virginia	
BURGESS, Henry John	November 1, 1768	North Carolina	M
BURNABY, Andrew	April 7, 1759	Virginia	
BYLES, Mather	June 29, 1768	Massachusetts	M

C

CAMP, Ichabod	March 26, 1752	New England	
CAMPBELL, Alexander	January 21, 1745	Virginia	
CAMPBELL, Isaac	July 6, 1747	Virginia	Dead
CAMPBELL, John	June 6, 1773	Virginia	Stratton Major Parish
CARTER, Jesse	October 21, 1772	Virginia	Southampton Parish
CASTLEGRAVE, Gideon	January 11, 1750	America in General	
CHANDLER, Thos. Bradbury	August 20, 1751	New Jersey	M
CHAPMAN, George	May 3, 1773	West Florida	Pensacola
CHAPMAN, Walter	July 7, 1768	Pennsylvania	Did not go
CHRISTIAN, Nicholas	August 13, 1773	North Carolina	M
CLAGETT [CLAGGETT], ⁵ Thomas John	October 11, 1767	Maryland	
CLARK, Richard	February 25, 1767	Connecticut	
CLRK [CLARK], Richard	February 27, 1770	New England	M
CLARK, William	December 22, 1768	Massachusetts	M
CLARKE, Richard	July 16, 1753	South Carolina	
CLAY, Charles	June 7, 1769	Virginia	
CLEVELAND, Aaron	July 28, 1755	Pennsylvania	
CLUG, Samuel	June 11, 1768	Virginia	
COLE, Roscow	January 19, 1748	Virginia	
COLES, William	February 2, 1746	Virginia	
COLLINSON, Joseph	December 23, 1759	Virginia	
COLLINSON, Richard	December 28, 1762	Virginia	

⁵THOMAS JOHN CLAGGETT (October 2, 1742-August 2, 1816), first bishop of Maryland and fifth of the American episcopate, was the first bishop to be consecrated in America—September 17, 1792, by Bishops Provost, Seabury, White and Madison.

COOKE, George	December 21, 1748	Maryland	
COOKE, Samuel	June 3, 1751	New Jersey	M
COOMBE, Thomas	October 17, 1771	Pennsylvania	P
COOPER, Myles	January 4, 1774	America in General	
COOPER, Robert	May 1, 1758	South Carolina	
COPP, Jonathan	December 28, 1750	Georgia	M
COSGREVE, James	February 25, 1766	North Carolina	M
COSSIT, Kanna [Ranna]	March 27, 1773	New Hampshire	M Haverill Parish
COTTON, Nathaniel	March 2, 1768	West Florida	
COULTON, Jonathan	March 26, 1752	New England	
COUTTS, William	June 7, 1768	Virginia	
CRAIG, George	September 1, 1750	New Jersey	M Dead
CRAIG, James	March 31, 1755	Virginia	
CRAIG, James	September 30, 1758	Virginia	
CRAMP, John	September 21, 1767	North Carolina	M
CRUDEN, Alexander	March 14, 1749	Virginia	P
CUMMING, Robert	January 19, 1748	North Carolina	
CUTTING, Leonard	December 21, 1763	New Jersey	M

D

DADE, Townsend	August 13, 1765	Virginia	
DAVENPORT, Joseph	October 12, 1755	Virginia	
DAVIES, Thomas	October 26, 1761	New England	M
DAVIS, Peter	June 11, 1751	Virginia	
DAVIS, Thomas	September 22, 1754	Virginia	
DAVIS, Thomas	September 21, 1773	Virginia	Norfolk Parish
DAWSON, Musgrave	February 1, 1747	Virginia	Dead
DAWSON, William	July 2, 1764	West Florida	Pensacola
DEAN, Barzillai	November 21, 1745	New England	
DICK, Archibald	March 26, 1762	Virginia	
DICKSON, Robert	October 22, 1746	Virginia	
DIXON, John	August 4, 1748	Virginia	
DOTY, John	January 1, 1771	New York	M
DOUGLASS, Alexander	August 24, 1750	South Carolina	
DOUGLASS, William	September 24, 1749	Virginia	
DOWIE, William	April 2, 1762	Maryland	
DRAGE, Theodorus Swain	May 29, 1769	North Carolina	M Never heard of him after
DUCHÉ, Jacob	March 11, 1759	Pennsylvania	
DUCHÉ, Jacob	September 12, 1762	Pennsylvania	St. Paul's, Philadelphia
DUNCAN, William	May 29, 1774	Maryland	St. Michael's Parish
DUNDAYS, John	June 6, 1773	South Carolina	Prince Fred- erick's Parish. Dead.

E

EARL, Daniel	September 19, 1756	North Carolina	M
EDMISTON, Edward	March 30, 1767	Maryland	
EDWARDS, Joseph	June 29, 1762	South Carolina	Did not go
ELLINGTON, Edward	May 5, 1767	Georgia	M
EMERSON, Arthur	September 29, 1768	Virginia	
EVANS, John	March 24, 1762	South Carolina	Dead
EVANS, Nathaniel	September 22, 1765	New Jersey	M Dead

F

FAIRWEATHER

[FAYERWEATHER],

Samuel	March 25, 1756	New England	M Dead
FANNING, William	March 25, 1754	North Carolina	
FARMER, Richard	November 16, 1768	South Carolina	Dead
FENDALL, Henry	February 25, 1767	Maryland	
FIELDE, Thomas	August 2, 1770	America in General	Dead
FINLAY, Alexander	September 23, 1770	Georgia	
FISKE, Samuel	August 31, 1766	North Carolina	M
FLOYD, Thomas	May 9, 1766	Virginia	
FOGG, Daniel	August 19, 1770	Massachusetts	M
FONTAINE, James			
Maury	October 10, 1763	Virginia	
FORBES, John	May 5, 1764	East Florida	St. Augustine
FORD, Hezekiah	September 29, 1774	North Carolina	St. Jude's Parish
FOWLE, John	May 24, 1752	New England	M Dead
FOWLIS, James	December 28, 1750	Virginia	Dead
FRAZER, John	March 23, 1769	East Florida	
FRAZER, William	December 21, 1767	New Jersey	M
FRINK, Samuel	November 17, 1763	Georgia	M
FULLERTON, David	June 20, 1767	America in General	

G

GARDEN, James	September 22, 1754	Virginia	
GARROW, David	July 15, 1745	South Carolina	
GAUNT, Edward	February 2, 1770	Maryland	
GEISENDAUNER, Jn.			
Utrick	September 24, 1749	South Carolina	
GIBERNE, Isaac			
William	September 30, 1758	Virginia	
GILES, Samuel	December 23, 1765	Pennsylvania	
GOLDIE, George	February 25, 1766	Virginia	
GORDON, William	August 8, 1767	West Florida	
GORDON, William	June 11, 1775	Virginia	
GOWIE, John B.	July 28, 1771	Maryland	Prince George's Parish

GOWNDRIL, George	March 31, 1770	Maryland	
GRAHAM, Robert	March 8, 1773	Maryland	St. Paul's Parish
GRAHAM, Wm. Eastwick	June 11, 1775	South Carolina	Prince William's Parish
GRAVES, John	June 4, 1755	New England	M Dead
GRAVES, Matt.	October 22, 1747	Connecticut	M
GRAYSON, Spence	May 29, 1771	Virginia	
GREATON, James	January 28, 1760	New England	M Dead
GREEN, John	March 16, 1762	South Carolina	Dead
GRIFFITH, David	August 19, 1770	New Jersey	
GWATKIN, Thomas	January 5, 1770	Virginia	

H

HALL, Thomas	April 6, 1774	Virginia	St. Martin's Parish
HALYBURTON, William	August 28, 1766	Virginia	
HAMILTON, Arthur	June 11, 1768	Virginia	
HANNAH, William	June 11, 1772	Virginia	Culpeper County
HARRIS, Matthew	March 26, 1753	Maryland	
HARRISON, James	June 22, 1752	South Carolina	
HARRISON, Thomas	August 24, 1774	Maryland	Trinity Parish
HARRISON, Walter Hanson	August 24, 1774	Maryland	Durham Parish
HARRISON, William	December 21, 1756	North Carolina	
HART, Samuel	May 5, 1764	West Florida	Mobile
HENLEY, Samuel	December 24, 1769	Virginia	
HERDMAN, James	September 23, 1770	Virginia	
HEWITT, Richard	September 30, 1760	Virginia	
HEYBORNE, Jno. Cheshire	August 7, 1753	South Carolina	Did not go
HINDE, John	January 29, 1771	South Carolina	
HINDMAN, Jeb Henderson	December 24, 1769	Maryland	
HINDMAN, John	September 22, 1746	Virginia	
HOCKLEY, John	September 12, 1765	South Carolina	
HOLMES, John	August 1, 1773	Georgia	M St. George's Parish. Dis- missed.
HOLT, John White	June 11, 1776	Virginia	Russell Parish
HOLT, William	June 11, 1772	Virginia	Amelia County
HOOPER, William	June 10, 1747	New England	
HOPKINSON, Thomas	September 24, 1773	Pennsylvania	
HORROCKS, James	November 5, 1761	Virginia	Dead
HOUSTON, John	September 21, 1747	Maryland	
HOVE (HOOE), Rice	December 21, 1756	Virginia	
HOWARD, Samuel	May 2, 1765	Maryland	
HOYLAND, Francis	March 26, 1769	South Carolina	Did not go
HUBARD, William	April 28, 1766	Virginia	

HUBBARD, Bela	February 28, 1764	New England	M
HURT, John	December 21, 1774	Virginia	Trinity Parish

I

INGLIS, Charles ⁶	December 24, 1758	Pennsylvania	M Went to New York
ILLING, Fraugott Fred	August 24, 1772	Pennsylvania	Junietta
IMMER, Abraham	January 28, 1760	South Carolina	Dead
INNES, Robert	July 6, 1747	Virginia	Dead

J

JAMESON, Walter	June 29, 1764	Virginia	
JARRATT, Devereaux	December 28, 1762	Virginia	
JARVIS, Abraham ⁷	February 28, 1764	New England	
JENKINS, Edward	August 29, 1772	South Carolina	Ashley Parish
JOHNSON, Josiah	July 10, 1766	Virginia	Dead
JOHNSON, William	March 25, 1756	New York	Dead
JOHNSTON, Francis	September 29, 1768	North Carolina	
JOHNSTON, Thomas	June 16, 1751	Maryland	
JONES, Edward	May 29, 1769	North Carolina	
JONES, Emanuel	September 21, 1774	Virginia	St. Bride's
JONES, John	June 19, 1750	America in General	
JONES, William	February 8, 1770	South Carolina	

K

KEENE, Samuel	September 30, 1760	Maryland	
KEITH, Alexander	June 26, 1745	South Carolina	
KENNEDY, John	December 24, 1776	East Florida	St. Mark's
KENNER, Rodham	September 21, 1772	Virginia	Hampshire
KUPPLES, Charles	June 11, 1766	North Carolina	M
KYNASTON, John	August 9, 1770	Virginia	

L

LAIRD, Samuel	October 12, 1755	North Carolina	
LAMSON, Joseph	June 10, 1745	New York	
LANDER, Francis	November 24, 1761	Maryland	
LANGHORNE, Wm.	June 5, 1750	South Carolina	
LEADBETTER, John	November 8, 1773	East Florida	St. Augustine
LEAMING, Jerem.	June 21, 1748	New England	M
LEIGH, William	March 16, 1772	Virginia	Shelburne

⁶CHARLES INGLIS (1734—February 24, 1816), first bishop of Nova Scotia and first Anglican colonial bishop, was consecrated August 12, 1787, by Dr. Moore, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Bishop John Thomas of Rochester and Bishop Beilby Porteus of Chester (later of London).

⁷ABRAHAM JARVIS (May 5, 1739-May 13, 1813), second bishop of Connecticut and eighth in the American line, was consecrated October 18, 1797, by Bishops White, Provoost, and Bass.

LELAND, John	April 11, 1775	Virginia	Wicomoco Parish
LENDRUM, Thomas	April 3, 1765	Virginia	Dead
LENDRUM, Thomas	February 2, 1773	Maryland	
LEWIS, Jenkin	July 5, 1755	South Carolina	
LEWIS, John	July 21, 1768	South Carolina	
LOCKE, Richard	May 13, 1749	Virginia	
LONSDALE, William	January 16, 1766	South Carolina	Dead
LOUBERBUHLER, Barthol.	November 2, 1745	Georgia	
LUCIUS, Saml. Frederick	November 1, 1769	South Carolina	M
LUNDIE, Thomas	December 21, 1767	Virginia	
LUNEN, Alexander	December 24, 1769	Virginia	
LUNEN, Patrick	December 23, 1759	Virginia	
LYON, John	June 29, 1765	New England	M Dead
LYTH, John	October 10, 1763	Virginia	

M

MACARTNEY, James	July 25, 1768	North Carolina	
MACGOWAN, Walter	June 24, 1768	Virginia	
MACKAE, Christopher	December 23, 1765	Virginia	
MACPHERSON, John	April 17, 1751	Maryland	
MADISON, James ^a	October 1, 1775	Virginia	
MAGAW, Samuel	February 19, 1767	Pennsylvania	M Has a Church in Philadel- phia.
MANNING, Nathaniel	March 16, 1772	Virginia	Hampshire
MANSFIELD, Richard	August 11, 1748	New England	M
MARSHALL, John Rutchers	July 28, 1771	Connecticut	Woodbury
MARTIN, Charles	September 13, 1751	South Carolina	
MARTIN, Nathl. James	May 29, 1771	South Carolina	
MARTIN, Thomas	June 24, 1767	Virginia	
MASSEY, Lee	September 21, 1766	Virginia	
MATHER, Joseph	December 29, 1760	Maryland	
MATHEWS, John	June 29, 1764	Virginia	
MAUREY, Mathew	August 24, 1769	Virginia	
MAURY, James	December 27, 1755	Virginia	
MAYNADIER, Daniel	December 29, 1760	Maryland	
McCLENACHAN, William	March 31, 1755	New England	M Dead
McCROSKY, Saml. Smith	September 21, 1772	Virginia	Christ Church Parish
McDOWEL, John	July 5, 1753	North Carolina	M
McGILCHRIST, William	October 10, 1746	New England	M Dead

^aJAMES MADISON (August 27, 1749-March 5, 1812), first bishop of Virginia and fourth in the American line, was the third and last American to be consecrated by the English bishops—Archbishop Moore and Bishops Porteus of London and Thomas of Rochester—on September 19, 1790.

McKEAN, Robert	April 26, 1757	New Jersey	M Dead
McKENZIE, William	June 6, 1773	Virginia	
McKINNON, Daniel	December 22, 1768	Maryland	
McKORMICK, Robert	April 11, 1775	Maryland	St. James' Parish
McLAURIN, Robert	August 24, 1750	Virginia	
McLEAN, John	August 1, 1773	Virginia	Botetourt Parish
McROBERT, Arch.	February 25, 1761	Virginia	
MEIKLEJOHN, George	March 12, 1766	North Carolina	M
MELDRUM, William	June 13, 1756	Virginia	Dead
MENZIES, Adam	December 28, 1750	Virginia	Dead
MESENGER, Joseph	May 7, 1772	Virginia	Stafford County
MILLER, William	March 31, 1755	North Carolina	
MILNER, John	February 25, 1761	New York	Dead
MITCHELL, George	April 6, 1774	Maryland	Stepney Parish
MONTGOMERY, John	July 23, 1770	Maryland	
MOORE, Benjamin ⁹	June 29, 1774	New York	Charlotte, &c. Precincts
MOORE, Thomas Lambert	September 21, 1781	New York	Islip, in Suffolk County
MOREAU, Charles Fredk.	February 8, 1773	South Carolina	
MORETON [MORTON], Andrew	March 17, 1760	New Jersey	Removed
MORGAN, Thomas	May 29, 1769	South Carolina	Dead
MUHLENBERG, Peter	April 25, 1772	Virginia	
MUNN, Harry	February 11, 1765	New York	M Come to Eng- land
MURRAY, Alex	June 7, 1762	Pennsylvania	M
MUNRO, Harry	July 21, 1770	Albany	M

N

NEILL, Hugh	March 26, 1750	Pennsylvania	M Dead
NEWTON, Christopher	July 28, 1755	New England	M
NICHOLLS, James	February 3, 1774	Connecticut	Northbury and New Cam- bridge
NIVISON, John	February 25, 1752	Virginia	

O

ODELL, Jonathan	January 19, 1767	New Jersey	M
ODGEN, Uzal	September 21, 1773	New Jersey	M Sussex County
OGILVIE, James	September 22, 1771	Virginia	P Hampshire
OGILVIE, John	June 30, 1749	New York	Dead
OWEN, Gronow	October 21, 1757	Virginia	M

⁹BENJAMIN MOORE (October 5, 1748-February 27, 1816), second bishop of New York and ninth in the American line, was consecrated assistant bishop of New York on September 11, 1801, by Bishops White, Claggett, and Jarvis. Although *de facto* bishop of New York from the date of his consecration, he was not *de jure* bishop of New York until the death of Bishop Provoost on September 6, 1815.

P

PAGE, Bernard	August 24, 1772	Pennsylvania	Wyoming Parish
PALMER, Solomon	October 20, 1754	New England	M Dead
PARKER, Samuel ¹⁰	February 28, 1774	New England	Trinity, Boston
PASTEUR, James	December 23, 1753	Virginia	
PATTERSON, John	June 11, 1768	Maryland	
PEARCE, Offspring	October 26, 1761	South Carolina	
PETERS, Richard	September 16, 1765	Pennsylvania	Christ Chh. & St. Peter's, Phila.
PETERS, Samuel	August 25, 1759	New England	M In England
PETTIGREW, Charles	March 1, 1775	North Carolina	C
PHILLIPS, John Lott	June 11, 1776	North Carolina	St. Margaret's Parish
PIERCE, James	October 3, 1769	South Carolina	Dead
POLLEN, Thomas	February 9, 1754	Rhode Island	M Dead
PORTER, John	June 11, 1768	Maryland	
POW, William	January 23, 1748	North Carolina	
PRICE, Thomas	December 23, 1759	Virginia	
PROCTOR, William	July 1, 1745	Virginia	
PURCELL, Henry	March 31, 1770	South Carolina	
PURCELL, Robert	April 5, 1769	South Carolina	

R

RAMSEY, John	July 13, 1751	Virginia	
READ, Robert	April 10, 1758	Virginia	
READING, Philip	April 7, 1746	Pennsylvania	M Dead
REID, John	April 1, 1745	North Carolina	
REID, Thomas	September 21, 1773	Maryland	
RENNEY, Robert	July 1, 1764	Virginia	P
RENNIE, John	December 17, 1773	Georgia	
RHONNARD, Alexander	August 25, 1759	Virginia	
ROBERTSON, John	January 21, 1745	Virginia	
ROSS, John	September 22, 1754	Maryland	
ROWAN, John	September 21, 1747	North Carolina	
ROWE, Jacob	February 13, 1758	Virginia	Dead

S

SAUNDERS, John Hyde	September 21, 1772	Virginia	James City
SAYRE, Jas.	September 21, 1774	New York	Fredericksburg Precinct
SAYRE, John	September 29, 1768	America in General	M Now in Nova Scotia
SCHAB, Christ. Erust	May 29, 1771	South Carolina	Dead
SCOTT, John	March 25, 1769	Maryland	
SCOVIL, James	April 4, 1759	New England	M

¹⁰SAMUEL PARKER (August 17, 1744-December 6, 1804), second bishop of Massachusetts and tenth of the American line, was consecrated on September 14, 1804, by Bishops White, Claggett, Jarvis, and Benjamin Moore.

SEABURY, Samuel ¹¹	December 23, 1753	New Jersey	M
SEBASTIAN, Benjamin	September 21, 1766	Virginia	
SELDEN, Miles	January 15, 1752	Virginia	
SELDEN, William	March 11, 1771	Virginia	
SEMPLE, James	September 30, 1760	Virginia	
SERJEANT, Winwood	December 19, 1756	South Carolina	
SEYMOUR, James	August 24, 1771	Georgia	M Augusta
SHIELD, Samuel	December 21, 1774	Virginia	Drysdale Parish
SIMPSON, Bolton	August 26, 1745	South Carolina	
SIMPSON, Joseph	June 2, 1746	Virginia	Dead
SKENE, George	December 7, 1761	South Carolina	
SKYRING, Henry	October 10, 1763	Virginia	
SLOANE, Samuel	December 23, 1765	Maryland	
SMELT, John	March 28, 1748	Virginia	Dead
SMITH, Haddon	August 22, 1772	South Carolina	
SMITH, Michael	April 14, 1752	South Carolina	
SMITH, Robert ¹²	October 3, 1769	South Carolina	
SMITH, Thomas	February 2, 1753	Virginia	
SMITH, William	December 23, 1753	Pennsylvania	M
SPENCER, Archibald	August 30, 1749	Virginia	
SPENCER, George	January 19, 1767	New Jersey	
SPENCER, George	April 24, 1767	South Carolina	Dead
STANFORD, William	July 8, 1775	Albany	M Went to Jamaica
STANFORD, William	July 8, 1775	New York	M Albany. Mosq. Shore
STEVENSON, James	September 29, 1768	Virginia	
STEWART, Alexander	June 18, 1753	North Carolina	M
STEWART [STUART], ¹³ John	August 19, 1770	New York	M
STEWART, John	March 31, 1781	Georgia	Christ Church, Savannah Parish
STOKES, Joseph	October 30, 1761	South Carolina	Dead
STONE, Robert	June 30, 1749	South Carolina	
STRAKER, Thomas	January 28, 1768	South Carolina	Dead
STRINGER, William	March 8, 1773	Pennsylvania	P St. Paul's, Philadelphia
STUART, James	September 21, 1766	Virginia	
STUART, William	September 26, 1746	Virginia	
STURGEON, William	June 20, 1747	Pennsylvania	M Dead
STURGES, Daniel	November 11, 1771	Virginia	Norborne

¹¹SAMUEL SEABURY (November 30, 1729-February 25, 1796), the first bishop of Connecticut and the first American bishop, was consecrated on November 14, 1784, by the Scottish bishops—Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner.

¹²ROBERT SMITH (August 25, 1732-October 28, 1801), the first bishop of South Carolina and sixth in the American line, was consecrated on September 13, 1795, by Bishops White, Provoost, Madison and Claggett.

¹³"Stuart" is probably the correct spelling. See J. W. Lydekker, "The Rev. John Stuart, D. D. (1740-1811)" in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Volume XI, pp. 18-64, especially page 20, which states that John Stuart was "ordained deacon and priest on the 19th and 24th of August [1770] by Dr. Richard Terrick, bishop of London."

T

TAYLOR, Charles Edward	January 1, 1771	North Carolina	M Now there
TEALE, William	December 6, 1762	North Carolina	
THOMPSON, James	February 28, 1769	Virginia	
THOMPSON, Thomas	March 25, 1745	New Jersey	M Dead
THOMPSON, William	December 23, 1759	Pennsylvania	In England
THORN, Sydenham	August 24, 1774	Pennsylvania	Mispillion and St. Paul's
THORNTON, Thomas	September 22, 1754	Maryland	
THRUSTON, Charles Mynn	August 13, 1765	Virginia	
TINGLEY, Samuel	March 8, 1773	New Jersey	M St. John's in Elizabeth Town. Re- moved to Maryland
TODD, Christ.	April 26, 1775	Virginia	Brunswick Parish
TONGUE, John	September 8, 1759	South Carolina	Dead
TOWNSEND, Epenetus	December 21, 1767	New York	M Dead
TREADWELL, Agur	April 30, 1762	New Jersey	
TROUTBECK, John	May 7, 1754	New England	M Dead
TURQUAND, Paul	April 28, 1766	South Carolina	
TYLER, John	June 29, 1768	Connecticut	M

V

VARDILL, John	April 6, 1774	New York	
VERE, William	September 22, 1771	Virginia	
VIETS, Roger	April 17, 1764	New England	M
VILLETTE, John	September 2, 1771	South Carolina	Came home. Prince Frdk's Parish

W

WALKE, Thomas	February 18, 1772	South Carolina	St. Mark's Parish
WALKER, Philip	March 25, 1756	Maryland	
WALTER, William	February 28, 1764	New England	
WARD, Samuel	December 14, 1767	South Carolina	Did not go
WARREN, Samuel Fenner	January 12, 1758	South Carolina	Afterwards My. in N. Eng- land
WARRINGTON, Thomas	September 21, 1747	Virginia	Dead
WATSON, Leonard	March 10, 1762	Virginia	Did not go
WAUGH, Abner	March 11, 1771	Virginia	St. Mary's Parish

WEBB, William	March 16, 1746	Virginia	
WEEKS, Joshua Wingate	April 17, 1763	New England	M Ejected himself ¹⁴
WEST, William	November 24, 1761	Virginia	Gone to Maryland
WHEELER, Willard	December 21, 1767	Massachusetts	M
WHITE, Alexander	June 10, 1745	Virginia	Dead
WHITE, William ¹⁵	April 25, 1772	Pennsylvania	
WILKINSON, Thomas	July 31, 1753	Virginia	
WILLIAMSON, Alexander	December 27, 1755	Maryland	
WILLS, John	January 30, 1769	North Carolina	M Dead
WILMER, James	September 21, 1773	Maryland	
WILSON, Francis	August 24, 1772	Virginia	Drysdale Parish
WILSON, Hugh	December 23, 1765	Pennsylvania	
WILSON, Joseph Dacre Appleby	October 26, 1761	South Carolina	Dead
WINGATE, John	September 22, 1771	Virginia	Dale Parish
WINSLOW, Edward	March 31, 1755	New England	M Dead
WISHART, John	June 29, 1764	Virginia	
WISWELL, John	February 11, 1767	New England	M Nova Scotia
WOOD, Thomas	September 29, 1749	New Jersey	M Removed to Nova Scotia. Dead.
WOODMASON, Charles	April 28, 1766	South Carolina	Came to England

Y

YANCEY, Robert	July 25, 1768	Virginia	
YATES, William	April 1, 1745	Virginia	Dead

¹⁴JOSHUA WINGATE WEEKS (Harvard, 1758) was the S. P. G. missionary at Marblehead, Massachusetts, 1763-1779. The above reference means that, being a loyalist, he finally fled Massachusetts, was a refugee in England, and was finally transferred to Nova Scotia where he died in 1804. (See, Wm. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V., 204n.)

¹⁵WILLIAM WHITE (April 4, 1748-July 17, 1836), first bishop of Pennsylvania and second American bishop, consecrated February 4, 1787, by Archbishops Moore of Canterbury and Markham of York, and by Bishops Moss of Bath and Wells and Hinchcliffe of Peterborough, was the first bishop ever consecrated by the English episcopate for a jurisdiction outside the British Isles.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Episcopal Theological School 1867-1943, by James Arthur Muller, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1943. Pp. 239.

Ever since its organization in 1867 the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School has held a distinctive place among the seminaries of this Church. Its founder was a layman and all its trustees are laymen. For seventy-five years it has been independent of episcopal or clerical or diocesan control. The bishop officially functions only as president of the board of visitors. The man who had most to do with shaping the early policy of the School was Francis Wharton, the leading authority on criminal law and who was not ordained to the ministry till he was forty-two years old. He served as dean for just eleven weeks. He gave courses on "Evidences of Christianity" and "Apologetics" to which he added liturgics, polity, canon law, homiletics and pastoral care. He was aptly described as "the intellectual founder of the School." At the outset there was some opposition to locating the School at Cambridge, one leading presbyter who had been invited to join the faculty, declaring that "the moral atmosphere there was not healthful". A much more serious objection was the proximity to Harvard which was then almost universally regarded as a Unitarian institution. In its beginnings the School was definitely evangelical. Only in later years did it become a representative of liberal theology. And it may be noted that it was the first seminary of this Church to admit women to attend the lectures and the first to appoint a woman on the faculty. In 1941 Professor Adelaide Case of Columbia University was appointed "Professor of Religious Education". The outstanding charm of this volume consists in the biographical sketches of the deans and professors.

At the age of seventy-two John S. Stone became dean. He was a decided evangelical, fearing both Romanism and tractarianism and equally what he called "the rationalistic tendencies of our times". Daniel Webster said he was the greatest preacher he had ever heard. When in 1874 the students petitioned for a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion in Lent Stone referred it to Bishop Paddock as president of the board of visitors. The bishop considered that a regular monthly celebration and on the three great festivals was "a happy medium between a too frequent and too infrequent repetition of that sacred ordinance". The faculty, however, took a more liberal view, and agreed to administer thrice in Lent and once a month on Wednesday mornings during the school year. Under George Zabriskie Gray the theological atmosphere broadened as it did under Dean Lawrence and even more so under Dean Hodges when for a time there was a recurrence of suspicion concerning its orthodoxy. Hodges was called a heretic. The biographical notes on the members of the faculty are illuminating,

particularly of the great trio—Steenstra, Allen and Henry S. Nash. Steenstra and Allen became legendary figures by reason of forty years of service. "Steenie," as he was called, was a widely recognized authority on the Old Testament and was one of the first to sense the importance of the critical and historical study of the Old Testament which took its rise in Germany. Bishop Lawrence said of him that "he never stopped growing". As a teacher of history Allen was without a peer. Henry Sylvester Nash combined New Testament scholarship with profound spirituality and was a pioneer in emphasizing the social responsibility of the Church. The stories of the absent-minded William Wood are a classic. All in all Dr. Muller has given us a brilliant book abounding in clear-cut etchings and adorned with a saving grace of humor. It is a permanent contribution to the historical development of theological teaching in this Church.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Christianity and the Contemporary Scene, edited by Randolph Crump Miller and Henry H. Shires. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1943. Pp. 231.

The Church Divinity School of the Pacific, founded by the Rt. Rev. William Ford Nichols, bishop of California, was opened October 18th, 1893. The dean and faculty have happily chosen to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary by the timely publication of a volume on contemporary theology in the light of history. In addition to the faculty the contributors include Professor Miller of the Pacific School of Religion; Professor John C. Bennett of the Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Deutsch, provost of the University of California, and Ethel M. Springer, dean of St. Margaret's House, Berkley. The fifteen chapters reach a high level which is rather unusual in books of composite authorship. It is wide in its range. Beginning with "Some Trends in American Theology", it treats of "An Inquiry into the Origin of Religion"; "Modern American Christianity in the Light of History"; "Continental Theology"; "The Jesus of History Today" and "The Social Task of the Church". There is an informing chapter on "The Return to Old Testament Theology". Bishop Parsons writes on his favorite topic of Church Unity, and Bishop Stevens of Los Angeles on "The Growing Church-Mindedness of To-Day". In a very challenging contribution Professor Bennett describes "The Hardest Problem for Christian Ethics". It, of course, deals with the present war. Its keynote is in the opening sentence:

"We do not face the most bitter problem of the Christian life until we acknowledge that there are situations in which the best we can do is evil."

Admitting that war is an evil, in this case to abstain from it is to allow the Nazis and the Japanese to destroy freedom and religion and

make an end of free speech and a free press—an infinitely greater evil. This volume gives every indication of the fact that on the Pacific Coast there are open-minded Christian scholars and divinity schools which are second to none in the East.

Grand Man of God, James Edward Freeman, by the Rev. Van Rensselaer Gibson. Llewellyn Publications, Yonkers, N. Y. 1944. Pp. 132.

As a biographical sketch of a dynamic personality this book of Mr. Gibson's is all that could be desired. It avoids fulsome praise, it is discriminating in its judgments and lucid in style. Freeman had an unusual career. He was not a college man nor did he attend a seminary, but he had the advantage of business experience which proved to be invaluable in his ministry. Greatly gifted as a preacher, with a winning personality, he was an outstanding success as a parish minister; equally so as third bishop of Washington. The College of Preachers is a monument to his vision and he did much towards the completion of the Washington Cathedral. The value of the book is enhanced by the printing of some extracts from Freeman's sermons preached on special occasions. The work is particularly well illustrated. All it lacks is an index.

E. C. C.

The Church and the War, by Karl Barth, with Introduction by Samuel McCrea Calvert. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. 49.

This slender but weighty volume is the outcome of a series of questions addressed to Karl Barth by Dr. Calvert and is prefaced by Barth's article on "The Churches of Europe in the Face of the War", in which he outlines the attitude of the European Protestant churches to what he calls "National Socialism" which he defines as a "wholly destructive and anti-spiritual nihilism". The Calvert questions embrace the entire range of the problems of the Church and of Christian men created by the war. Beginning with the problem of combining loyalty to the State with loyalty to the Church universal which transcends the State, they cover the question of ministerial support of the war by preaching on its issues; encouragement of enlistment, purchase of war bonds, &c. Chapter III deals with the "Church and Post-War Reconstruction". It would not be fair to Barth in a review to paraphrase his answers to these questions. They are too closely reasoned for that, but they are searching and challenging. American churchmen (including the clergy) owe it to themselves to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest his conclusions.

Mater Ecclesia. An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church As Mother in Early Christianity, by Joseph C. Plumpe. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1943. Pp. 149.

This is the fifth in a series of studies of Christian antiquity published by the Catholic University of America. It is hardly necessary to say that it is the product of exhaustive research ranging over a wide field beginning with Holy Scripture to the fathers from the second century down. It has an excellent "select" bibliography and an adequate Index.

Spirit of Flame, a Study of St. John of the Cross, by E. Allison Peers. Pp. 209. \$2. Morehouse-Gorham, New York.

A serious and notable appraisal of the life and teaching of a Spanish Carmelite monk of the Counter Reformation period by a Rede Lecturer at Cambridge, England, who is an expert in mysticism. The author is convinced that St. John of the Cross, though little known to English readers, is one of the greatest mystics of Christendom with only two rivals, St. Augustine and John Ruysbroeck. "Of all the remaining Christian mystics . . . it is doubtful if a single one can fairly be called his equal." At the beginning of his career the saint was closely associated with St. Teresa, at Avila, concerning which a most interesting account is given. He became the earliest of her recruits when she started the Discalced or Barefooted Reform—a strict ascetic movement within the Carmelite order itself—and she always wrote of his character and influence in words of unmeasured admiration. The Reform proved unpopular, but as St. John of the Cross continued to fulfill its severest obligations with utmost conscientiousness his fellow friars punished him brutally and cast him into prison. While there he wrote several religious poems which, it is claimed, place him "in the very first rank of Spanish writers," the most important of which is entitled the *Spiritual Canticle*, the lover's quest of the divine beloved. Judging by the excerpts given they undoubtedly rank very high as poetry, though to this reviewer the figures and tropes are too sensuous for religious use. The main body of the book is given over to a searching analysis of the saint's mystical teachings contained in "The dark night of the Soul," "The Ascent to Mount Carmel," "The living flame of love," and other literary remains. These follow step by step the journey of the soul as it passes through purgation, illumination, to complete union with God and prove the Saint to be a man of the most profound spiritual insight. On the whole it is an interesting study, finely written, well documented, and will appeal strongly to the specialist in mysticism, though to the average twentieth century Christian who unfortunately has little conception of the true inwardness of spiritual life and char-

acter it will appear both remote and unreal. They might find comfort in the fact that St. John of the Cross, despite his canonization, was quite human; he disliked the Andalusians and did so intensely even if he did not hate them and was happy to escape to another field of labor. The book closes with a fervent plea for a closer approximation by modern churchmen to the devotion and spiritual idealism of the saintly Carmelite friar, whose complete works have been made available to English readers of recent years. H. H. BROWN.

The Promises of Christ, by the Right Rev. Frank E. Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Eau Claire. Pp. 174. \$2. Morehouse-Gorham, New York.

This book of sermons by an eminent churchman takes its title from the first five, the texts of which are based on definite words of Christ. The others are more or less general in character and cover a variety of themes, including a series of excellent meditations on the Seven Words of the Cross. In a brief introductory note the author states that the volume was published for three reasons: some who heard them had asked for them: to supply a need of printed sermons for the use of lay-readers: to furnish young preachers with sample sermons of recent vintage as suggestive helps in developing their own preaching abilities. On the whole they are admirably adapted for these latter two purposes. They read well, possess a fine literary grace, are clear in thought and convincing in argument. They are strikingly free from controversial theological subjects and rhetorical embellishments. They deal chiefly with those aspects of Christian truth which directly apply to conduct and character, and offer counsel with the wisdom and skill of one thoroughly conversant with the differences between timely and timeless values. Moreover, they are models of homiletical construction, being direct, practical and spiritually helpful, each theme developing and widening until it reaches its conclusion. Especially noticeable is a judicious use of anecdote and illustration as well as an occasional flash of humor. Unfortunately the book was no sooner published than the distressing news of the bishop's death was announced, so that it now speaks with added power and appeal from the realm of the beyond: "and by it he being dead yet speaketh". H. H. BROWN.

The Ways and Teaching of the Church, by Rev. Lefferd M. A., Haughwout. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. Pp. 128.

This is the seventh edition of an old and tried manual. It includes sections on the Holy Catholic Church, its faith, its ministry and sacraments; the Church and its worship symbolism, the Eucharist and the

minor services; also confirmation, with many illustrations. It would be difficult to find a better manual of instructions for confirmation classes.

Directory St. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, New York City. 1944.

Contains a commemoration of the 120th anniversary of the parish together with its history.

History of St. Paul's Church, Alton, Illinois, by Guy Study. St. Louis, Mo., Mound City Press. 1943. Pp. 94.

This volume, written by a layman, is one of the best parish histories we have seen. Beginning with a sketch of the American Church and the advent of the Church in Illinois, it goes on to outline the story of St. Paul's Church in the city of Alton, which dates back to a building erected in 1834, used by all religious bodies and purchased by St. Paul's in 1845. There is a record of a visit by Bishop Kemper in 1836 presiding at the organizations of the parish. The book contains an extended note on Bishop Philander Chase and his work in Illinois; also biographical sketches of the various rectors. There is a suggestive note on "The Ritual of St. Paul's Church". Coming from the pen of a layman it is particularly well informed as are his references to the revival of gothic architecture. Once again it must be noted that the book lacks an index.

E. C. C.

NOTE ON PROSPECTIVE BOOKS

The purpose of this MAGAZINE is not only to review books but also to keep its readers in touch with current historical research which will eventually result in publication. The following have come to the notice of the editors:

IN PREPARATION

The History of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, by Walter H. Stowe, S. T. D.

The Missionary March of the American Episcopal Church, by E. Clowes Chorley, D. D.

The Life of Bishop Philander Chase, by Professor J. A. Muller, Ph. D.

The History of St. Thomas Church in the City and Diocese of New York, by E. Clowes Chorley, D. D. (Complete and awaiting publication).

The History of the Diocese of Albany, New York, by the Rev. George De Mille.

History of the Church in Virginia, by Rev. G. MacLaren Brydon, D. D. 3 volumes.

The Life of Bishop Charles Henry Brent. This had been undertaken by Dr. Drury and Professor Ogilby both of whom died before the work was finished. Its completion has now been undertaken by the Very Reverend Dean Zabriskie.

COMPLETE

Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church, by the Rev. E. Clowes Chorley, D. D. The Hale Lectures. To be published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The editors will be glad to know of any other works in progress.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

The Sisterhood of St. Mary.

Bishop Philander Chase, by Professor J. A. Muller.

The Recovery of the Episcopal Church in Upstate New York after the Revolutionary War, by Rev. George E. DeMille.

The Early Days of Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, Connecticut, by Rev. Dr. Arthur Adams.

Some Letters of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, by Professor William Sweet of the University of Chicago, with Notes.

St. Philip's Church, (Colored) New York, by Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop.

History of St. Paul's School, Concord, Mass., by Malcom Kenneth Gordon.

Robert Smith, First Bishop of South Carolina, by the Rt. Rev. A. S. Thomas.

The Beginnings of the Church in New Mexico.

A Proposal for a Department of Church History, by the Editor in Chief.

Notes on the History of Music in the American Church, by Rev. Canon Edward N. West.

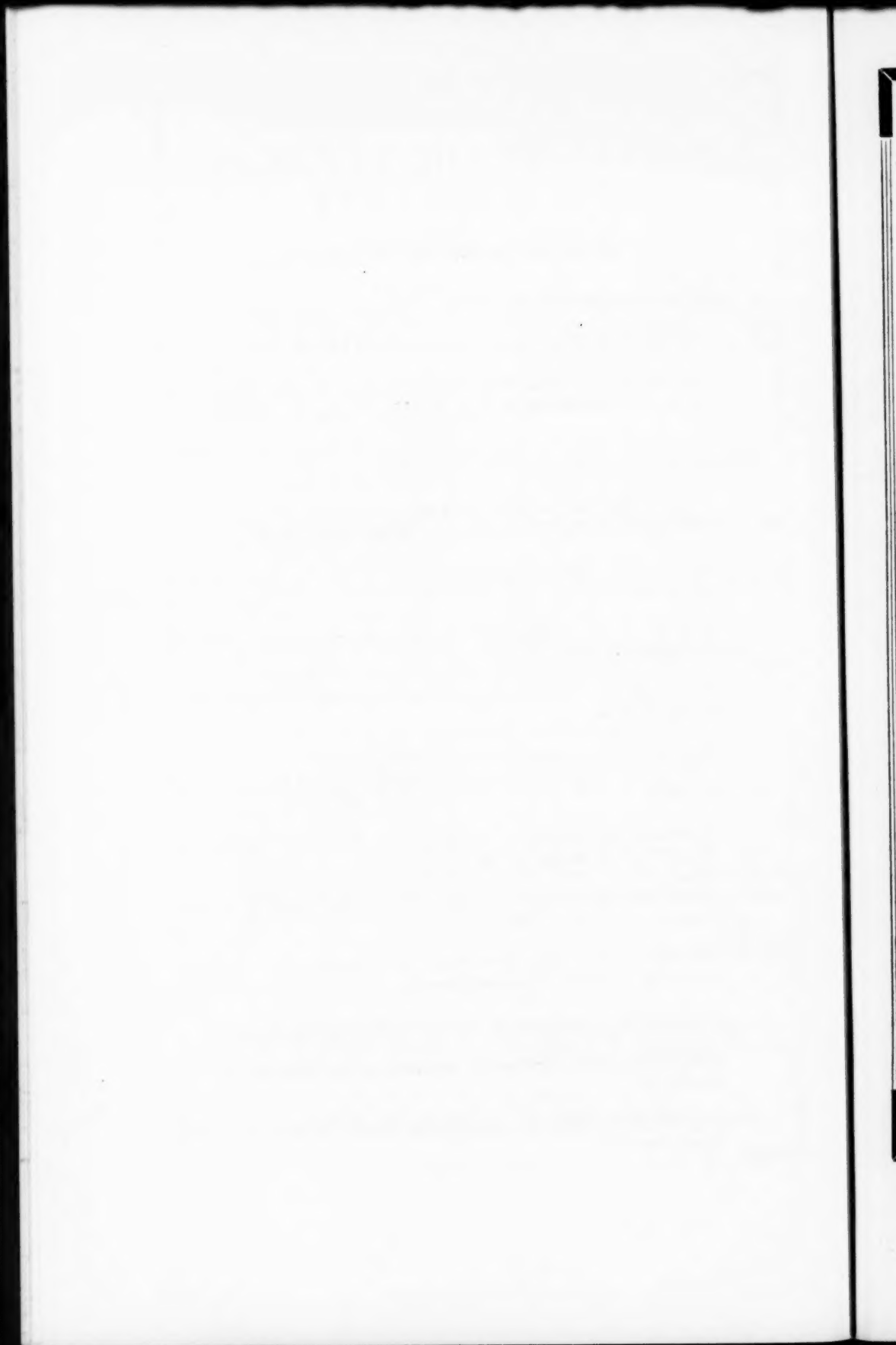
The Reverend Theodore Edson, by Rev. Lawrence H. Blackburn.

Theodore Edson and His Diary, by Frederick W. Coburn, President, Lowell Historical Society.

The Cheshire Academy, by Rev. Dr. William A. Beardsley.

The Muhlenberg Memorial, by Rev. Dr. Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr.

Negro Episcopalians in Ante-Bellum North Carolina, by John Hope Franklin.



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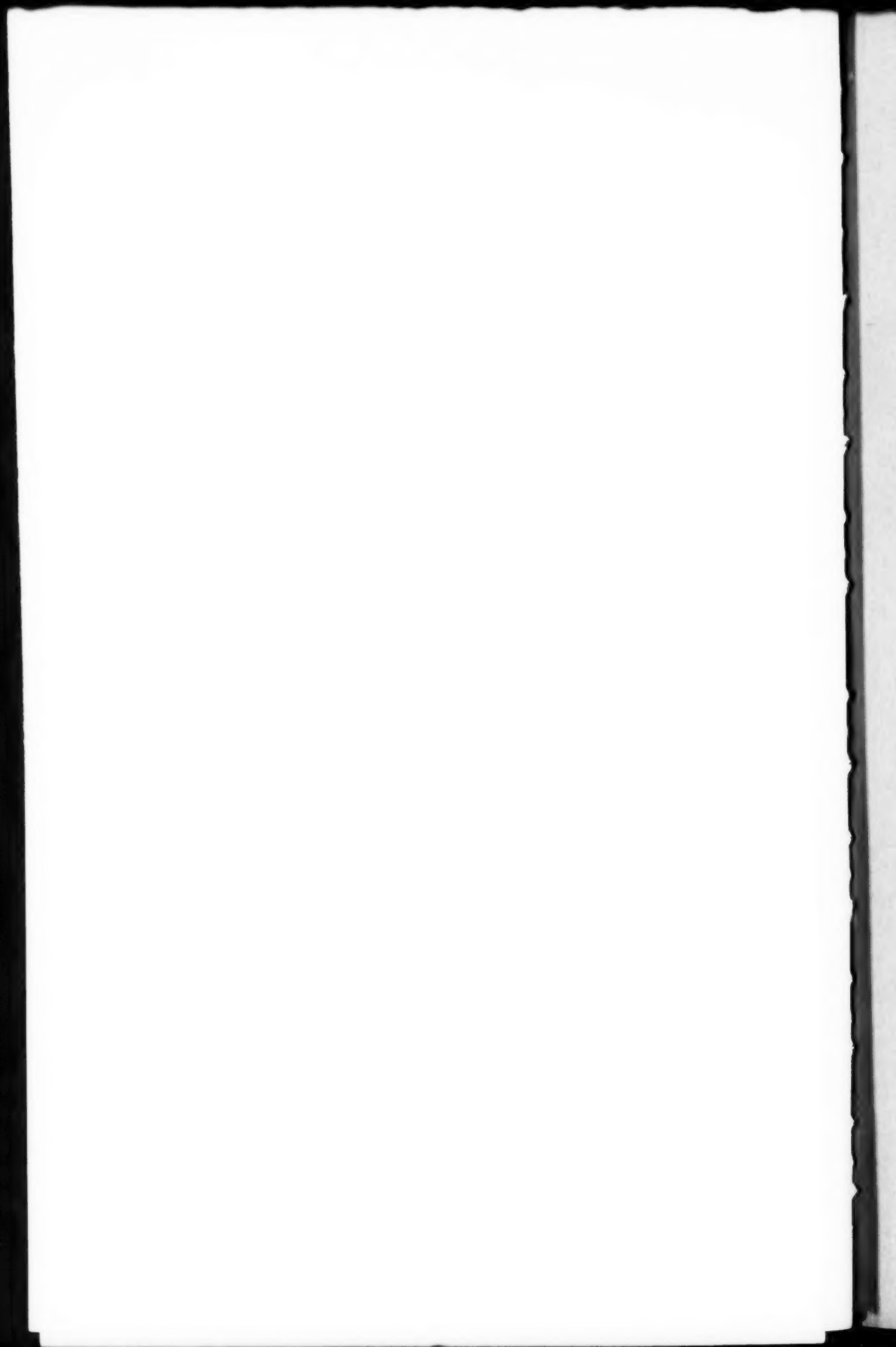
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